PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION

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NOT OF THIS FOLD

In this phrase I find one of the strongest incentives for the Christian Church to go beyond the boundaries of its own community in search of others to whom can be made known the rich provisions of the Gospel. I am well aware that we who so interpret it always stand on the brink of a chasm which I believe to be foreign to the Christian spirit and justifiably objectionable to the adherents of other faiths—proselytism, the policy of "compassing sea and land" to make a convert to add to the numbers already existing, quite apart from any compelling motive of love for the person sought. But so long as the Church can keep clearly before her the truth that she is the steward of the manifold grace of God and bestirs herself to discharge that stewardship in the interests of those who are outside the Christian "fold," she retains her ancient calling as the bearer of good news to others and still finds abundant ground for sharing her good news with those who are not of this fold.

In Malaya the Protestant groups have been attempting for the past century to evangelize the people of the country and Catholic Missions have been operating in the country for a much longer period. All such efforts have been directed principally toward the Chinese and Indian peoples in the country. Little evangelistic effort in the past has been directed toward the indigenous people of the country—the Malays. The Malays are solidly Muslim and like their fellow-Muslims the world over have not responded readily to the religious ideas of other faiths. With reference to this country, the question is squarely before the Church: Shall the Church attempt to evangelize the Malays?

If by "evangelize" is meant to employ high pressure methods to increase the "numbers of converts" to be reported in statistical columns of Church reports, the question

becomes debatable; but if "evangelize" is to mean to share with others the good news of the Kingdom as good stewards of the manifold grace of God, then the question ceases to be debatable, and the answer comes from the clear and insistent command of Jesus: "Go." Not only the non-Malay groups in Malaya but also the Malays themselves are to be included in this injunction. To make no serious effort to share the good news with the Muslim peoples wherever found is certainly a mistaken policy because: (1) to place them forever beyond the range of Christian effort is unthinkable, and no useful purpose can be served by postponing the effort; (2) to delay the effort only confirms the Muslims in the belief that Christianity has no vital message which Islam does not itself possess and is therefore in no way a superior religion; (3) to allow the delay to continue leads to the false assumption that while Christians put up a brave declaration that they will win the world for Christ, they are practically ignoring in their efforts one of the largest religious groups of the world; (4) through delay the wall of religious seclusion which has achieved a sense of security against attacks from without will grow increasingly stronger with the passing years and will render the Christian task infinitely harder even than it is at the present when the Church finally senses her obligation to share with the Muslims as well as with other people in the world.

So far as Malaya is concerned, the answer to the question of evangelizing the Malays seems to be an unqualified affirmative. Let us proceed at once with an effort which will in a measure, at least, enable us to clear our conscience in discharging our responsibility of sharing our good news with them and will convince the Malays once for all that we do have good news beyond the best they have heard which we honestly desire to share with them and that we have a genuine concern that they should hear it.

With this question settled, let us consider a second—How shall we evangelize the Malays? Various methods of presenting Christian truth to the non-Christian peoples of Malaya have been employed by institutions—notably by extensive school systems and in a more limited degree by hospitals.

The success of institutional effort in achieving an evangelistic end will be in the degree that evangelism is held clearly and persistently by the institution as its final objective. If that end becomes obscured or is lost completely, the contribution of the institution to the evangelization of the people will decrease proportionately or will cease altogether, in which case the institution will proceed, if at all, on a philanthropic basis.

The value of both schools and hospitals as media through which people may become acquainted with Christian truth has been, and still is, considerable. In recent years, however, the value of the school as a medium for presenting Christian truth to Malay young people has been greatly reduced, due to the action of the Government in inserting into the School Code the requirement that Muslim pupils shall not be allowed to attend classes for religious instruction in grant-in-aid schools without the previous consent of parents and guardians. To respect the objections of parents and guardians when they arise is one matter, but to get the consent of parents is quite a different matter, for relatively few Muslim parents would give an affirmative answer when confronted with the bald question. This ruling, therefore, greatly reduces the value of schools as a medium of sharing the good news with the Malay young people and in most cases raises an effective bar even though the children may desire to attend the classes and the parents raise no objection to their doing so.

Apart from the institutional media of sharing the good news, direct contacts are possible and also the distribution of Christian literature. Friendly contacts are always possible if one is honest and forthright in his desire to help so that his motives will not be questioned by the people. The avenues of rendering help will open as one observes the needs of individuals and communities. The Malays have manifested a never-failing interest in pictures, both moving and still. As for literature, it is subjected to much closer scrutiny and is often rejected, but its acceptance is frequent enough to justify its production and distribution. By such means and by personal conversation the good news can be shared.

Let us now propose our final question: When shall we evangelize the Malays? To the question as to the best time to bring the good news to the Malays, the answer springs out of the Scripture: "Now is the accepted time." Never was there a more suitable time or more favourable condition. I would not imply that there is any unusual interest on the part of the Malays in the Christian religion or any conscious searching for any truth outside of Islam. As a community they are still loyal to Islam and are quick to resent any intimation that Christianity or any other religion is superior to it. Rather the suitableness of the present time for bringing the Gospel to the Malays lies in other considerations, a few of which follow.

1. The spirit of the people has become aroused. The former easy acceptance of things as they are and satisfaction with those conditions are gone, and the will to attain new objectives in response to deep life-urges is everywhere manifest. It is seen very clearly in their present zeal for nationalism. They are no longer content, as in pre-war days, to accept the security and material benefits of another power but are moved by a new consciousness that Malaya belongs to the Malays, that they must assume the responsibilities of Government at the earliest possible moment, and that in the meantime they must prepare themselves with all speed for early leadership in the country. From this point they are reaching out in many directions. They are demanding better educational facilities for their children which will enable them to govern wisely and well and to compete economically with other groups for the material wealth of the country, so that the standard of living of the Malays may more nearly approximate that of other groups in the land. They are also seeking a larger participation in the benefits of medical help which will enable a far greater proportion of their children to attain maturity and acquire more robust health.

2. Moreover, the minds of the Malays are now open. No longer does their former assurance suffice that the ways with which they and their ancestors have been familiar are the best ways. Tradition is losing its hold. Already they have become aware that the old *'adat* (custom) no longer yields the

answers for the present demands. The chastening experience of inadequacy has caused them to cast about in many directions for the help they need and to accept gratefully assistance from varied sources. Even though there may be no conscious search for new religious ideas, an open and receptive mind is a good nursery for religious ideas.

3. The possibility of change is admitted and even advocated in their newspapers and public addresses. They realize that too long they have followed along the old, well-marked paths while the world about them has progressed far. The English word "modern" has become a common word in the Malay vocabulary with all its connotations for good or evil. The encasements of the old molds of thought and conduct are definitely broken now, and daily new ideas and purposes are pressing upon them.

There are indications that the determination to hold to Islam is stronger to-day than ever. The demand for the observance of Friday as the weekly holiday, for instance, has been voiced widely in the State Councils and has not been enacted into law only because of its failure of adoption in the Federal Legislative Council through the opposition of non-Malay members. There has also been a noticeable tightening of the enforcement of requirements for the Fast and other Muslim observances. Still, an admission that change is necessary and a willingness to abandon old ways and adopt new ones manifest a spirit which is at least hopeful that some of the new aids now needed may be found in Christianity and may be adopted into the thinking of the Malays.

How long will this opportunity be open? Who can say? And is it not a dangerous question to ask? One thing we know—the changed conditions in Malaya present an inspiring opportunity to share the good news of the Kingdom with the Malay people. The Church has her marching orders. In advancing elsewhere, may she enter this field also with high purpose and expectation.

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THE CHRISTIAN APPROACH TO IRANIAN MUSLIMS

Among all the Islamic countries of the world Iran only is now Shi'ah: all the rest are Sunni. It may be worth while to study the cause of this split in Islam to see whether we can learn anything to help us in our method of approach.

When Islam was still young and the caliphs carried their conquests far and wide, the subjugated nations had to give up any individuality of their own and conform as far as possible to the Arab pattern imposed on them. In the case of Iran this meant that the ancient and magnificent civilization of the Sasanians and Achaemenians had to be discarded. The ancient religious books of the Parsees were destroyed, the official court language became Arabic, no plea for justice could be dealt with until it was couched in Arabic. All the government accounts, statistics, and royal decrees had to be in Arabic. As a result, Persian literature and Persian culture suffered eclipse.

As is well known, the Arabs had no music, painting, or sculpture of their own. They could see nothing but idolatry in these fine arts, which were forbidden to the followers of the prophet. The lover of aesthetic beauty had to be content with the magnificent architecture of the mosques and the lovely geometrical designs in colored tiles or with calligraphy. These arts did not portray the human form or face and so could not be considered idolatrous.

The political and cultural subjugation was so complete that today, after thirteen centuries, Muslim nations still speak Arabic and call themselves Arabs! But Persia was different. After two hundred years, in the eastern provinces under the Samanids, the desire for freedom took shape. Rudaki, the blind poet, was the first to use Persian as his medium; and two hundred years later Ferdosi, in 60,000 couplets, narrated the history of Iran from earliest times. His "Shahnameh" did much to keep patriotic feeling alive, and his boast was that it contained no word of Arabic.

More than five hundred years passed before there was a rising of Buyids in Persia. They were fanatical adherents of

Ali and did everything in their power to make the Iranians rebel against the Sunnis and establish the Shi'ah faith. The forming of the Shi'ah sect may be attributed to a desire for political independence, but it certainly had a cultural and religious basis also.

The Iranian could not rest without some more spiritual form of religion and some way of getting nearer to God. Sell says: "Traditions say that Muḥammad foretold the death of Ḥusain thus: 'He will die for the sake of my people,' and that Ḥusain before setting out on his fatal journey, stood by the grave of the Prophet, and said, 'How can I forget thy people, since I am going to offer myself for their sakes?' The assassinations were the natural result of a tribal feud. . . . This seems to show that the hard and cold system of orthodox Islam failed to find a warm response in the Shi'ah mind. The Christian idea of self-denial, of self-renunciation, of self-sacrifice for others was needed; and this representation of Ḥusain as a voluntary sacrifice was the example the Shi'ahs found."

This point is abundantly shown by referring to the mystic poets. There ever is a groping and search for God, and ecstasy in the love of the Father for his lost children, which is very close to the Gospels, but very foreign to orthodox Islam.

Throughout the centuries various sects have been formed among the Shi'ahs, each one claiming to have the hidden Manifestation of the Deity or to possess the Secret Word. Today we have the followers of the Morshed at Gunabad, the Shaikhis, the Aliallahis, and the Baha'is. Does not this show that the Iranians are incurably desirous of finding a nearer and more perfect contact with God?

Now how does this help us in our approach to the Iranian Muslim? I think we should realize that the revolt from orthodox Islam to a heretical form shows us two things, and we in our approach should bear these in mind.

1. The Iranians were trying to acquire political, cultural, and religious independence. It follows that the messenger of Christ must never even give an impression of backing or helping a foreign power. Iranians today are sensitive to and highly suspicious of foreign intrigue: everything which hap-

pens in the government is attributed to foreign interference. We are not now considering whether this is true or untrue: the point is that we must not allow our Christian message to be hampered by fear that by becoming a Christian one will be a traitor to his country. Thus the Christian missionary will try to use Iranian tunes for Christian hymns, and to see that the meter and rhythm conform to rules of Persian poetry. The churches architecturally will follow the best Iranian art, and such things as Christmas cards designed by Iranian artists will be used. We in Iran are definitely following this method.

2. The Iranians needed a more spiritual and emotional approach to God than Sunni Islam provided. This is shown by the mourning in the first ten days of Muḥarram for the death of Ḥusain, and the intense love for 'Ali. The sacrificial death of our Lord, his sufferings, and the unqualified devotion and loyalty that he demands, constitute the message which above all should appeal to the Shi'ah. The Shi'ahs in religion and the Iranians as a nation have always wanted to follow a *person* and not a *system,* and Christ only can satisfy the yearnings of their hearts.

It is a commonplace to say that there is no golden rule for our approach to Muslims, but while some general principles such as we have been looking at and a knowledge of the historical background are essential, it may be helpful to have some practical suggestions about starting a conversation or getting the first line of approach. These very simple and seemingly purposeless openings are not meant to be profound—profundity often frightens people off; they are meant to encourage the other person to speak, and above all to *think.* A "good" Muslim is self-righteous and absolutely sure of his position. There are many things which he believes as axiomatic truths, so it is difficult to get started.

The choice seems to be either to talk platitudes and to acquiesce, which gets nowhere, or to get involved in controversy, which may lead to bitterness and certainly will make the Muslim rally all his powers in the defense of Islam, and that is not helpful. There is a third way, and that is to follow our Lord's example. He frequently used a parable and

did not explain it, or he made some arresting remark and passed on to something else. His object was to make the other person *think,* to suggest an idea, but to leave the other person to follow it up.

For example, we want to show that the solidarity of Islam is not due to any virtue in itself, but to external compulsion. "It's interesting to note that the progress of Christianity in India, China, and Africa is much greater than in Iran. What do you think is the reason?" "Those people are heathen. Muslims worship the true God and will not turn away from Islam." "If that is the case, why do the mullahs fear questions about or criticisms of Islam or Muḥammad? You yourself know that in a *rozehkhani* (the celebration of the martyrdom at Kerbala), if you ask a question which seems to cast a doubt on the Qur'ān or Islam, the mullah will call you a heretic and perhaps curse you. I submit that the strength of Islam lies in its method of disposing of all heretics and suppressing all free inquiry. This is not the method that people who believe they have the truth should use. I'll lend you this Gospel, if you'll promise to read it."

Another line to make people think about Muḥammad's own life is to start by saying: "I have a number of very good friends among Muslims, but what puzzles me is that they seem to be better than their prophet! Now people often blame us for not living up to the standards of Christ, and with shame we confess our failures, but I cannot imagine a Christian who lives a better life than Christ. In any case, I would rather follow a Saviour who is infinitely better than I am than a prophet who is not so good as I." "You are quite wrong. Muḥammad is infinitely superior to Christ." "Do you think so? Well, you read this Gospel, which gives the life of Christ, and I—what shall I read about the life of Muḥammad? *Ḥayat-ul-Qulūb* or *Miftāḥ-ul-Jannat*?" (These are standard Shi'ah books on the life of Muḥammad.)

Sometimes people charge us with failure to turn the other cheek, and blame Christians for the state of the world, including the atomic bomb. We reply: "Is this state of turmoil due to Christians keeping Christ's commands, or failing to do so?"

Suppose we have been reading the fifth chapter of Matthew. We might say: "Christ took Moses' commands one by one and then, raising the standard much higher, declared his own teaching. Why did not Muḥammad take Christ's teachings and then give us something superior? I cannot think of anything higher than Christ's teaching about anger and adultery and the need for absolute truthfulness, but you ought to know what Muḥammad said. Did he give anything higher, or did he go back to the Mosaic law?"

In a recent newspaper article it was said that Moses was sent to found the primary school of knowledge of the one God; Jesus raised the standard to that of a secondary school; but Muḥammad established the university, which embraces all knowledge for knowing God and for organizing social and political affairs. Why, then, has Arabia, the cradle of Islam, been, until recently, a backward country? What industries had Arabia? What agriculture? How many universities or secondary schools existed? Where were its hospitals and orphanages? What were its exports and imports? If many of the tenets of Islam are sanitary and hygienic principles given as religious regulations, such as not eating pig's flesh because of the danger of trichinosis, or abstinence from alcoholic drink because of its harmfulness, why do accepted traditions state that stagnant water of a certain volume *(korr)* and running water, no matter what its condition, are "clean"? And when hygienic rules were given, why did they not include vaccination and the use of mosquito nets? Surely smallpox and malaria were and are as harmful as trichinosis. (These apparently silly questions emerged as the result of a long conversation I had with a Haji Sayyid Mohammad when traveling on the same bus with him.)

It must be borne in mind that our aim has been to find methods of approaching the Shi'ah Muslim, but Iran today is becoming increasingly materialistic, and, through a superficial knowledge of science, irreligious. The preceding notes will be of no use for such. It follows that the missionary must know where the man or woman with whom he is in contact stands, and approach must be made along the lines of his

thinking. How many women, suffering from the evils of polygamy, concubinage, or divorce, hear with a thrill of longing Christ's teaching about marriage!

The missionary must also know the force and implications of his thrusts, although he may, and in my opinion should, refrain from driving them home. The Iranian dearly loves controversy, and it may be necessary to confute him before he will listen, but our aim should be to goad his dormant mind into thought by pertinent questions, to make him reconsider truths which he thought were self-evident. Controversy is useful only if the man with whom one is conversing is sincerely seeking the truth, and as soon as outstanding obstacles are cleared away, Christ uplifted must be shown, so that his deep spiritual sense be awakened, if he is to realize, however imperfectly, the incomprehensible love of God.

Napier Malcolm, the pioneer missionary in Yezd, a city in central Iran, used to say: "Never try to worst your opponent to such a degree that he feels he must retaliate. That will make him only more obstinate. Wrestle, but do not try to throw him."

And what of those who have forsaken all to follow Christ? What has drawn them? I think it has usually been the beauty and purity of Christ which has conquered them. Such people have no further use for Islam. The thought of it makes them shudder. It is a dangerous thing from which they have escaped. Such people cannot be tolerant. For them in very deed Christ is all in all.

In closing, it is necessary to remember that this "approach" is very one-sided. The most effective approach is the life of a sincere Christian, showing Christ forth in hospital, school, and social service—in fact, in every detail of ordinary life. A holy life is more attractive than controversy or clever repartee.

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In what follows I shall confine myself to the six canonical collections of Tradition, as they are the works which are most generally recognized, and they provide a representative body of material.

It is easy for one who is looking for faults to pick out from the books of Tradition examples of traditions which are obviously spurious, for there are many such; but this may lead one to fail to recognize the serious purpose with which the compilers undertook their work. It is to a large extent true that they were dependent mainly on the *isnād,* and that a good *isnād* rather than the credibility of the text determined the acceptance of traditions. But it should not be thought that the compilers blindly accepted every seemingly sound *isnād* without examining it carefully; neither should it be thought that they neglected to examine the text. As one goes over the collections one is impressed by the serious manner in which the compilers dealt with their material.

Al-Bukhārī often includes notes in his chapter headings, and he has frequent notes at the end of traditions. Sometimes these are in explanation of words used in the tradition.[1] Often he gives different *isnāds* which may involve a slight difference in the wording.[2] On occasion he mentions that one form of the transmission is sounder than another.[3] He also draws attention to additions made by certain transmitters.[4] Sometimes he draws attention to various readings.[5] He makes notes on traditions which are not sound, but he does not give them as part of his material, evidently assuming that readers will know such traditions and thus be put on their guard against them.[6]

Muslim also adds notes to certain traditions very much on the same principle as al-Bukhārī. In addition he has an introductory chapter in which he discusses some general principles, thus showing, before he begins the main body of his work, certain critical standards which he feels must be observed.

Al-Tirmidhī is the compiler who has generally been given credit for developing certain technical terms in application to Tradition. In his work he adds notes to practically all his traditions, indicating by his technical terms the degree of reliability to be attributed to them. He often adds simply the technical term, saying for example that a tradition is *ṣaḥīḥ,* or *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ,* or *ḥasan,* or *gharīb,* or *ḥasan gharīb,* etc. Frequently there are additional notes, sometimes in explanation of lines of transmission, or of points in the text, sometimes in criticism of the *isnād.* As an example of this last, see his *Da'awāt,* 130, in which he gives a tradition from Makḥūl from Abū

[1] cf. *Mawāqīt al-ṣalāt,* 14; *ḥajj,* 41.
[2] cf. *ḥajj,* 120; *ta'bīr,* 11.
[3] cf. *'īdain,* 24; *ṣaum,* 32.
[4] cf. *Tahajjud,* 1; *Maghāzī,* 28.
[5] cf. *Zakāt,* 28; *Istitābat al-murtaddīn,*
[6] cf. *'Idain,* 24; *Riqāq,* 13.

Huraira, then adds, "Its *isnād* is not connected; Makḥūl did not hear from Abū Huraira."

In addition to these notes al-Tirmidhī ends his work with a section on defects in which he discusses how transmitters are to be judged, mentioning differences of opinion regarding the credibility of certain men. He explains what he means by *ḥasan* traditions,[7] and deals at greater length with those which have been called *gharīb*. It is a valuable conclusion to his work, but one wishes that he had taken the opportunity of explaining all the technical terms which he uses in the course of the work.

It may not be so generally realized that Abū Dāwud, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja also add notes to many traditions. Ibn Māja's notes are not so frequent as those of the other two, but even he who is the least reliable of the compilers of the six books shows that he applied some criticism to his material.

Abū Dāwud said about his work, "I have made clear the traditions in this book of mine which contain great weakness; and those about which I have said nothing are sound, some being sounder than others."[8] We may therefore take it that where he adds no note he considers the material more or less sound. He has many notes on *isnāds* in which he indicates different lines of transmission and states which he considers most reliable.[9] He has frequent notes on the text, often of an explanatory nature.[10] When there may be doubt about the identity of a man who is mentioned in an *isnād* only by his *kunya* or *nisba*, he adds in a note the full name.[11] He discusses the reliability of some transmitters and does not hesitate to point out those whom he considers weak or unreliable on some ground or other. He uses for good traditionists such terms as *thiqa* (trustworthy),[12] *mauthūq al-ḥadīth* (trusted in tradition),[13] *thabat* (reliable),[14] and *ṣadūq* (truthful);[15] and for weak traditionists such terms as *laisa lahu kabīr hadīth* (no great traditionist),[16] *munkar al-ḥadīth* (his traditions are rejected)[16a] and *ḍa'īf* (weak).[17] He sometimes mentions that a man did not hear a tradition from the one whom he is represented as quoting.[18] Occasionally he mentions that a tradition is peculiar to the people of a certain district.[19] He is careful to note additions in text or *isnād* made by certain transmitters.[20] He mentions traditions which are *mauqūf* (going back only to a Companion),[21] or *mursal* (in

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[7] *Muslim World*, xli, p. 108.
[8] *MW*, xli, p. 101.
[9] cf. *Ṭahāra*, 84f. *Jihād*, 64. He commonly gives various *isnāds* without expressing a preference.
[10] cf. *Nikāḥ*, 27; *Buyū'*, 8.
[11] cf. *Zakāt*, 6; *Adab*, 15.
[12] cf. *Ṭahāra*, 109.
[13] cf. *Jihād*, 118.
[14] cf. *Ṭahāra*, 132.
[15] cf. *Ṭahāra*, 109.
[16] cf. *Manāsik*, 31.
[16a] cf. *Adab*, 22.
[17] cf. *Shahr Ramaḍān*, 1.
[18] cf. *Al-aimān wal-nudhūr*, 19.
[19] cf. *Ḥudūd*, 35.
[20] cf. *Manāsik*, 55.
[21] cf. *Nikāḥ*, 29.

which a Follower quotes the Prophet direct),[22] or have a broken *isnād*,[23] or are not strong.[24] Some he rejects.[25] He uses of unsatisfactory traditions such terms as *laisa huwa bil-qawī* (it is not strong),[26] *ḥadīth majhūl* (an unknown tradition),[27] *wahm* (fancy),[28] *bāṭil* (vain),[29] and *wāhī* (worthless).[30] At times he notes various readings.[31] When he has any uncertainty he is careful to draw attention to the fact;[32] and sometimes he mentions that a transmitter was not quite certain about some point in his material.[33] He can also remark that he has not been able to be as accurate about some point as he would have liked.[34]

In the above description I have not attempted to be exhaustive, but enough has been said to indicate that Abū Dāwud did his best to deal faithfully with the material at his disposal. Unlike al-Bukhārī and Muslim, he includes material which is not very reliable, or even considered actually unsound, but he does not fail to draw attention to it.

Al-Nasā'ī's methods are very similar to those of Abū Dāwud, and therefore it is unnecessary to speak of them in any detail. It is worthy of note that he uses a greater variety of terms to express approval or disapproval of transmitters, and that he frequently uses special headings to draw attention to the fact that he is giving variations in the transmission of a tradition and in the wording of different transmitters. He also includes some material which is not in the form of a tradition. He gives some forms of agreement,[35] and a discussion on the question of booty.[36]

Ibn Māja also adds a number of remarks at the end of traditions, but while they are similar in nature to many of those made by Abū Dāwud and al-Nasā'ī, one feels that he has not gone far enough. His collection contains more doubtful traditions than the others, and therefore he has more reason than the other compilers to discuss his material.

It is important to emphasize the manner in which these men have dealt with their material, for this has not commonly been done by Western writers. It is very easy to pick out traditions which are obviously spurious, and by emphasizing them, to convey the impression that the compilers were altogether uncritical men ready to accept anything which was presented to them if it seemed to magnify Islām or the Prophet. They doubtless were somewhat uncritical according

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[22] cf. *Adab*, 128.
[23] cf. *Aṭ'ima*, 10.
[24] cf. *Jihād*, 59.
[25] cf. *Aḍāḥī*, 21.
[26] cf. *Sujūd*, 1.
[27] cf. *Diyāt*, 23.
[28] cf. *Zakāt*, 5.
[29] *Qasm al-fai'*, 15.
[30] cf. *Ṣalāt*, 68.
[31] cf. *Kharāj*, 30.
[32] cf. *Ṭalaq*, 6.
[33] cf. *Buyū'*, 47.
[34] cf. *Ṣalāt*, 149.
[35] cf. *Manāsik*, 74.
[36] *Al-aimān wal-nudhūr*, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50.

to western standards, but they had their standards and tried to live up to them. The real damage had been done before their time by the development of traditions which had no basis in fact and their promulgation through channels recognized as reputable. But the compilers of the recognized books are not to be blamed for this. They investigated the material which came to their hands, accepting some of it and rejecting most of it. Their aim was to provide Islām with reliable material to serve as a basis for religion, law, and all aspects of human relationships. We may have reason to suspect the genuineness of much of their material, even perhaps all of it; but we have no reason to suspect the genuineness of the men who were so painstaking in sifting their material and arranging what they accepted for the benefit of the community.

Having considered the manner in which the compilers dealt with their material, we must look at two matters before considering some aspects of the contents of tradition. One of these is the question of abrogation.

That traditions should be abrogated may seem strange, as one may naturally feel that traditional material is something which is fixed and therefore not subject to abrogation. But there is reason for the principle. Abrogation is recognized in connection with the Qur'ān, and therefore it is not surprising to find that it is extended to Tradition. Al-Shāfi'ī argues that, just as Allah has abrogated a law in the Qur'ān by another to be found in the Qur'ān, so is a practice of the Prophet abrogated by another.[37] He insists that, just as only the Qur'ān can abrogate the Qur'ān, so only the *sunna* can abrogate the *sunna*.[38]

Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ[39] speaks of the subject as important and difficult and reckons al-Shāfi'ī a supreme authority on it. He quotes Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal as saying that he was ignorant of the subject until he had studied it under al-Shāfi'ī. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ explains that it means that the Prophet abrogated a law by a later one. Sometimes he makes this clear by a precise statement; sometimes a Companion states that the Prophet abrogated an earlier law; sometimes one knows that, when two rulings of the Prophet contradict one another, one was given at a later stage in his career than the other, and therefore abrogates it. He adds that abrogation is sometimes known by *Ijmā'*. For example, there is a tradition that one who drinks wine should be put to death after the fourth offence, but *Ijmā'* has decided on abandoning this practice. It sounds as if this disagrees with al-Shāfi'ī's principle that only the *sunna* can abrogate the *sunna*, but Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ keeps himself in line with al-Shāfi'ī by saying that, while *Ijmā'* neither abro-

[37] *Risāla*, p. 30.
[38] *ibid.*, p. 17.
[39] *'Ulūm al-ḥadīth*, pp. 238ff.

gates nor is abrogated, it indicates the existence of a tradition which abrogates. This is rather an ingenious device. One would think that if *Ijmā'* were based on an abrogating tradition, it ought to be able to produce it. This principle of abrogation serves a very useful purpose in removing contradictions.[40]

The other subject is known as *mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*. This deals with traditions which apparently contradict one another. It may be possible to reconcile them; but when that is not possible, and there is no indication that one has been abrogated, one must be guided by certain principles. Ibn Qutaiba, in his *Ta'wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, has discussed such traditions at length with great ingenuity, but one feels that at times he is just too ingenious.[41] Al-Shāfi'ī has laid down some principles on the subject.[42] The seeming discrepancies might arise through misunderstanding on the part of some hearers. They might not realize that a statement made by the Prophet in general terms was intended to have a particular reference; or someone might hear the Prophet's reply to a question without having heard the question to which he was replying; or the Prophet might lay down a *sunna* on two quite different occasions, but some hearers might not explain the difference between the two situations, the result being that different reports of the same tradition might seem to vary. Al-Shāfi'ī therefore suggests that very often, when two traditions seem to contradict one another, the reason is because of some defect in some transmitters. Later[43] he mentions some principles of judgment when traditions cannot be reconciled. One should be preferred to the other if it is nearer to the teaching of the Qur'ān, or if the *isnād* is better and the transmitter is known to be better informed than the other, or if the tradition comes by more than one line of transmission while the other has only one, or if it is nearer than the other to the meaning of the Qur'ān or to other traditions, or more in keeping with what the learned recognize, or clearer in analogical reasoning; finally the one which is supported by more Companions.

Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ deals with the subject quite simply, dividing it into two categories. The first consists of traditions which can be reconciled. The second has two types, (1) where one tradition is known to

[40] See further JA(ix), xviii, pp. 113f.; Nawawī, *Introd. to Muslim's Ṣaḥīḥ*, i, p. 35; Ḥājjī Khalīfa, iii, 25; v, 614; vi, 289: Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolegomena* (Cairo, 1930), p. 369.

[41] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (*'Ulūm*, p. 244) says that while his work is good in some respects, in others it is not, as he deals with matters he is not competent to deal with.

[42] *Risāla*, pp. 30ff.

[43] pp. 40f. This article was written before the publication of *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* by J. Schacht (Oxford, 1950), a very important work which opens up a new field of research. A translation of the passage above is given there on p. 14.

abrogate the other; (2) where there is a difference which cannot be reconciled and no guidance is given. In the latter instance one prefers the tradition which has more transmitters, or whose transmitters are more trustworthy.[44] This is perhaps as good a way as possible of dealing with a difficult problem.

The material included in the books of Tradition is very comprehensive, its purpose being to give guidance on almost every conceivable subject. For example, al-Bukhārī divides his work into ninety-seven books dealing with an extraordinary variety of topics. Thirty-three of them are connected with the five Pillars of Practical Religion, most of them being devoted to aspects of prayer. Then come books on various matters of business and personal relationships, wills, Jihād and related matters. Something is told about God's Creation, about prophets, and, at considerable length, about Muḥammad. Two books are devoted to commentary on some passages from the Qur'ān. Among other subjects treated are marriage, divorce, family responsibilities, foods, drinks, medicine, clothing, good manners, poverty, humility, fate, oaths, inheritance, crimes and their punishment, apostates, interpretation of visions, discord and impiety, administration of law, adherence to the Qur'ān and *sunna*. The last book deals with the declaration of God's unity and with His revelation.

Muslim's collection covers very much the same ground, but the four *Sunan* works are not quite so comprehensive, as their purpose is to give guidance on matters of religious practice, custom and law. Al-Tirmidhī includes one book on interpretation of parts of the Qur'ān, and one on the virtues of the Prophet, a number of his Companions, and certain peoples and districts. Abū Dāwud has a small book on some various readings in the Qur'ān.

One can see from this that the Muslim is provided with a mass of information which may be applied as a guide to every aspect of life. He receives direction as to how his religious life should be regulated, and all sorts of matters relating to his dealings with his fellow man are dealt with in detail. No aspect of life seems to have been omitted, and the material provided is presented as having the authority of the Prophet behind it. But the matter is not as straightforward as it might sound, and the individual cannot simply pick on a tradition from the Prophet concerning some matter on which he desires guidance, and be satisfied that he has discovered all he needs to know. For all he knows, there might be another tradition which differs from it, or even contradicts it. Or he may have picked on a tradition which the compiler declares to be of doubtful authority. It needs to be realized that Tradition itself does not constitute the law, but is rather a basis for the law. The compilers were very catholic in what they

[44] *'Ulūm*, pp. 244f.

recorded. Their aim was to collect traditions which came up to their standards of reliability, and it does not appear to have troubled them that some of their traditions apparently contradict others. The compilers of *muṣannaf* works arranged their material according to the subject-matter, but this was merely to facilitate access to it. The books of Tradition are not to be treated as being in themselves law books. Ḥājjī Khalīfa has pointed out that a traditionist's duty is to transmit what he has collected, whereas it is the office of a jurist to search out laws from the traditions and be able to discriminate.[45]

As Tradition claims either to come direct from the Prophet, or to tell how he reacted to circumstances, one finds in it a great amount of information about him. Much of the information is of doubtful authenticity, so in this respect as elsewhere in Tradition, one cannot place reliance on the reliability of the material; but one can say that we are presented with a picture of the Prophet which satisfied the community. Even within the six books there are different levels of credibility regarding some of the information; and therefore in the following brief account of what Tradition has to say about Muḥammad I shall confine myself to al-Bukhārī, who is generally considered the most reliable of all.

He gives a short tradition on the length of Muḥammad's life which says, "The revelation came to Allah's apostle when he was forty years old and he remained [in Mecca] for thirteen years. He was then ordered to migrate and he migrated to Medina and stayed in it for ten years. Then he died."[46] He tells how Muḥammad had the seal of prophecy between his shoulders.[47] In *Manāqib* there are a few details about the Prophet, but in *Manāqib al-Anṣar* and in *al-Maghāzī* there is an attempt to give an account of the Prophet's career. In the former of these two books there is only a little about the Meccan period, although it goes up to the time of the Hijra; but in the latter there is quite a detailed account of all the Prophet's expeditions from his coming to Medina till his death. In the last *bāb* it says that altogether he undertook nineteen expeditions. But while the title of the book suggests that it is occupied with fighting, the material which it contains is more comprehensive. There is certainly much about fighting and about how the Prophet acted in connection with expeditions in which he took part. We are also told about how he sent some of his followers to different parts of the country, some of these expeditions being presumably of a missionary nature. There are also traditions telling of deputations coming to Muḥammad from various districts and accepting Islām. Much is also said about the Prophet's last illness and his death. The purpose of this book is

[45] iii, p. 26.
[46] *Manāqib al-Anṣār*, 28.
[47] *Manāqib*, 22.

obviously to give a general account of Muḥammad's career after the Hijra.

It is only natural that we should find a description of the Prophet's appearance. He is said to have been of medium stature, and of a swarthy complexion, being neither white nor dark. His hair was also intermediate between short curly hair and hanging locks; it is said to have reached to the lobes of his ears, or to his shoulders. In later life his hair was grey and there were some white hairs in his beard. He is also said to have dyed his hair red. He was broad-shouldered, and is said to have been the best looking of men in face and figure.[48] How much of this information is reliable it is impossible to say. The insistence on his not being characterized by extremes sounds artificial; but one can believe that his looks were attractive, for he was a man who was able to draw others to him.

A number of traditions suggest that the Prophet lived in extreme poverty. It is said that till Muḥammad died his family never had full meals for three days.[49] A tradition with a different *isnād* says they never had their fill of wheaten bread seasoned with condiments for three days.[50] He is said never to have seen white bread from the time of his call till his death, but to have eaten bread made of unsifted barley.[51] Abū Ṭalḥa is said to have told Umm Sulaim that he had noticed the Prophet's voice was weak, and recognized that this was due to hunger.[52] 'Ā'isha is quoted as telling how for two months no fires were kindled in the Prophet's houses. He and his people lived on dates and water, but some neighbors gave them milk from their ewes.[53] 'Ā'isha is also reported as saying that when the Prophet died there was practically no food in the house; and 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith is credited with saying that all the Prophet left was his weapon, his white she-mule and some land which he left as alms.[54] No doubt conditions in Medina were very different from those in the lands which were later conquered by the Muslims, but it is difficult to believe that the Prophet lived to the end of his days in such abject poverty. In the early Medina days life was hard for the emigrants, but as the years passed circumstances must have become easier. One feels that such traditions, instead of representing conditions as they were, rather show the views of people who in later days disapproved of the luxury which was prevalent and tried to counteract it by traditions showing how the Prophet lived in penury. There is no suggestion of asceticism in these traditions. Their whole purpose is clearly to represent the Prophet as living a hard life of necessity, and not because he chose it. Indeed, asceticism as a religious practice was foreign to his nature, although this practice grew up later in Ṣūfī circles. It

[48] *Manāqib*, 23; *Libās*, 68.
[49] *Aṭ'ima*, 1.
[50] *ibid.*, 37; cf. *Al-aimān wal-nudhūr*, 22.
[51] *Aṭ'ima*, 23.
[52] *ibid.* 6; cf. *Manāqib*, 25.
[53] *Hiba*, 1.
[54] *Farḍ al-khums*, 3.

therefore seems better to seek the source of such traditions as have been quoted among people who deplored luxury than among people who advocated asceticism.

In the Qur'ān there is no suggestion that Muḥammad performed miracles, but this does not prevent Tradition from recounting marvels, and al-Bukhārī provides some account of these. Sūra liv, 1 refers to the moon being split and the following verse says that when the people see a sign they turn away and call it magic. It may be that Muḥammad is here taking credit for some natural phenomenon which appeared, but the Qur'ān does not state that this was a miracle performed by Muḥammad. Tradition, however, has no doubts about it. Anas b. Mālik is reported to have said that the people of Mecca asked Muḥammad for a sign, and he showed them the moon in two halves with Mount Ḥirā' appearing between them.[55] There are stories of how Muḥammad miraculously multiplied food. Some people once told 'Umar that they had so little food left that they must slaughter their camels. He reported this to the Prophet, who then had a leather cloth spread out and told the people to put what food they had left in it. The Prophet asked a blessing, then told the people to bring their vessels, and all had enough.[56] Umm Sulaim is said to have had some barley loaves with which to entertain the Prophet. He came with eighty people, who went in ten at a time, and all had enough.[57] On one occasion the Prophet had with him 130 men. He asked if any of them had any food, and one produced about a *ṣā'* of wheat. This was kneaded. Then a sheep was bought from a polytheist. From this enough food was provided for the whole company, and two bowls of it were left over.[58] One cannot but feel that this story, with its reference to food which was left over and collected, owes something to the New Testament. Another type of miracle relates to the miraculous production of water. Jābir b. 'Abdallāh is credited with a story of a company which had a very small amount of water and wished to perform ablution in preparation for prayer. The water was put in a vessel and the Prophet put his hand in it and opened out his fingers. He called the people to perform ablution, and there was enough both for ablution and for drinking. Jābir said the number present was fourteen hundred, but another version says fifteen hundred.[59] There are other stories of similar type. It may be that stories of this kind developed as a result of contact with Christians and out of a desire to show that Muḥammad was not inferior to Jesus in the performance of miracles.[60] Of rather a different type

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[55] *Manāqib al-anṣār*, 36; cf. *Tafsīr al-qur'ān*, sūra liv, *bāb* 1.
[56] *Shirka*, 1. [57] *Aṭ'ima*, 6.
[58] *Hiba*, 28. [59] *Ashriba*, 31.
[60] cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, p. 383; Guillaume, *The Traditions of Islam*, pp. 135ff.; J. W. Sweetman, *Islam and Christian Theology*, vol. i and Part 1, vol. 2 (see Index).

is the statement attributed to Muḥammad that he is able to see people behind his back. This is always related to the ritual prayer, the suggestion being that, although worshippers are facing in the same direction, Muḥammad has the power of seeing how those who are praying behind him are performing their devotions.[61] A kind of supernatural knowledge is attributed to Muḥammad in a tradition traced to Anas which tells how he informed the people of the death of Zaid, Ja'far and Ibn Rawāḥa at the battle of Mu'ta before the news had reached them. But this is offset by the tradition of 'Ā'isha which comes immediately after it and says that when news of the killing of Ibn Ḥāritha, Ja'far and Ibn Rawāḥa arrived, the Prophet sat down showing obvious signs of grief.[62] Here there is no suggestion of any supernatural knowledge. It is not surprising that stories of the Prophet's miraculous powers should have been developed. He had done a great work in establishing the religion of Islam, and his followers had no doubt of his divine inspiration. It was therefore a short step to proceed to attribute miracles to him; but one would expect to find this in the sphere of popular religion rather than in a work which was destined to become so authoritative.

Some traditions express an excessive devotion to the Prophet and to everything connected with him. Ibn Sīrīn told 'Abīda that he had some of the Prophet's hairs, whereupon 'Abīda declared that he would rather have one of his hairs than possess the world and all that it contained.[63] Umm Sulaim is said to have collected some of the Prophet's sweat and hairs while he was asleep and to have mixed them with a perfume, some of which was used for embalming Anas b. Mālik.[64] When Muḥammad was at Ḥudaibiya 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd, who had visited him as a representative of Quraish, was greatly impressed by the excessive devotion shown to the Prophet by his followers. He told how, when the Prophet expectorated, people would catch the mucus in their hands and rub their faces and their skins with it. He said he had visited kings, but had never seen any of them receive such devotion as Muḥammad received.[65] Another tradition tells how people would take the Prophet's hands and rub their faces with them.[66] Virtue was also attributed to his clothing. His *izār* was used as a shroud for a daughter of his,[67] and 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy was given his shirt as a shroud.[68] A woman had presented the Prophet with a fine woven *burda,* and a man asked him for it. When he was rebuked by a friend, he replied that he did not wish it as an article of clothing, but intended to have it used as his shroud.[69]

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[61] *Ṣalāt,* 40; *Adhān,* 71, 88.
[62] *Maghāzī,* 44. Ibn Ḥāritha is Zaid.
[63] *Wuḍū',* 33.
[64] *Isti'dhān,* 49.
[65] *Shurūṭ,* 15.
[66] *Manāqib,* 23.
[67] *Janā'iz,* 8, 15.
[68] *Janā'iz,* 23, 78.
[69] *Janā'iz,* 29.

There are some attractive features in the character of the Prophet as it is portrayed in the traditions. For example, there is his fondness for children. Usāma b. Zaid is reported as saying that Muḥammad used to take him on one knee and al-Ḥasan on the other, cuddle them, and invoke a blessing on them.[70] There are stories of the Prophet chewing a date, rubbing an infant's palate with it and invoking a blessing on him.[71] Equally pleasant is the information that he helped his wives in the housework, although no details are given.[72] He was very generous, an extreme form of which is expressed in the words attributed to him that if he were to receive Uḥud in gold, he would not like one dinar to remain with him three days.[73] Not only was he the most generous of men; he is also said to have been the bravest.[74] He was gentle in his manner to inferiors. Anas said that he served the Prophet for ten years, yet he never once said, "For shame!" or, "Why did you do [this]?" or, "Why did you not do [that]?"[75] He is reputed never to have expressed dislike of food presented to him. If he liked it, he took it; otherwise he left it alone.[76] In manner he is said to have been more modest than a virgin;[77] in speech he was never lewd, neither was he given to cursing or slandering people.[78] He did not take vengeance for wrongs done to himself, unless the wrong involved dishonor to God.[79] He could, however, be severe in his punishment. There is a story of eight men who had accepted Islam, but found the climate of Medina unhealthy. Muḥammad advised them to go out with the man who herded his camels. When they had done this and recovered their health, they killed the herdsman and drove away the camels. When news of this reached Muḥammad he sent people in pursuit, and when the men were brought before him he had their hands and feet cut off, and their eyes put out, then left them lying in the sun till they died. It is explained that this was a very serious case, as the men were guilty of a triple crime, apostasy, murder and theft.[80] On a different level is the story of the Jew who was brought before Muḥammad accused of bruising a girl's head between two stones. The charge being verified, Muḥammad made the punishment fit the crime, and had his head bruised between two stones.[81] So while al-Bukhārī represents Muḥammad as genial and forbearing, he does not hesitate to depict him as stern, and even cruel.

In speaking of the Prophet Tradition is not content with such subjects as have been described; it goes into the most intimate de-

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[70] *Adab*, 22.
[71] *Manāqib al-anṣār*, 45; *'Aqīqa*, 1; *Adab*, 109.
[72] *Nafaqāt*, 8.
[73] *Tamannī*, 2.
[74] *Adab*, 39.
[75] *ibid.*
[76] *Manāqib*, 23.
[77] *ibid.*
[78] *Adab*, 44.
[79] *Manāqib*, 23.
[80] *Diyāt*, 22.
[81] *Khuṣūmāt*, 1.

tails, which it is not necessary for us to consider here. But we must consider what it has to say about Muḥammad's prophetic office, for he was fundamentally a prophet, and therefore it is important to see how this was understood.

Muḥammad is declared to have been foretold in the *Taurāt*, the quotation given beginning with *sūra* xlviii, 8 and continuing with certain elements of Isaiah xlii, notably verse 2.[82] There is a tradition attributed to 'Ā'isha which says that his inspiration began with visions in sleep. This was followed by a period when he withdrew for contemplation to Ḥirā', where the angel appeared to him and ordered him to recite. Muḥammad declared three times that he could not, and each time was throttled by the angel. Then he was given a revelation. He hastened back to Khadīja, who reassured him and took him to her cousin Waraqa b. Naufal. He declared that this was the *nāmūs* which God had sent down upon Moses, and expressed the wish that he could be alive to see the future which he foretold for Muḥammad. A period without further revelation followed. One version says that one day Muḥammad heard a voice and, on looking up, saw the angel on a throne between heaven and earth. He was so terrified that he ran to Khadīja and told her to wrap him up. Another says that during this period Muḥammad contemplated suicide; but each time he was on the point of killing himself, Gabriel appeared and prevented him.[83]

Gabriel is normally spoken of as the medium of revelation. But some people must have put forward the theory that God Himself appeared to Muḥammad, for there is a tradition which denies this and insists that it was Gabriel who appeared to Muḥammad. It is immediately followed by a tradition amplifying it, which says that Gabriel usually appeared to Muḥammad in human form, but on the occasion mentioned in *sūra* liii, 8f. he appeared in his own form blocking up the horizon.[84] There is a curious tradition, evidently meant to explain a Qurānic reference, which tells how Muḥammad was violently affected when the revelation came and began to move his lips. *Sūra* lxxv, 16 was then revealed, after which Muḥammad listened quietly, and when Gabriel left him he recited as he had done.[85] But Gabriel does not seem to have confined his visits to the purpose of transmitting revelation. He is said to have visited Muḥammad every night in Ramaḍān and studied the Qur'ān with him. He is also said to have led the Prophet in prayer five times, this evidently being one attempt to explain how the five times of prayer were instituted.[86] Once when Muḥammad was depressed because he

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[82] *Buyū'*, 50; *Tafsīr*, sūra xlviii, *bāb* 3.
[83] *Bad' al-waḥy*, 3; *Ta'bīr*, 1.
[84] *Bad' al-khalq*, 7.
[85] *Bad' al-waḥy*, 4; *Tauḥīd*, 43.
[86] *Bad' al-waḥy*, 5; *bad' al-khalq*, 6.

had been unable to convert Ibn 'Abd Yālīl, Gabriel appeared to tell him that God had heard what Muḥammad's people had said to him and had sent the angel of the mountains to do whatever he commanded. The angel offered to overturn the mountains on the people, but Muḥammad said he would prefer God to raise God-fearing seed from them.[87] One day Muḥammad told 'Ā'isha that Gabriel was present and was saluting her. She replied politely, then said to Muḥammad, "You see what I don't."[87a] One might almost imagine that this remark was sarcastic.

While Gabriel is the recognized medium of revelation, it would appear that Muḥammad could receive revelation without his presence. 'Ā'isha is quoted as saying that revelation sometimes came to him like the reverberation of a bell, which was the severest type for him, but that sometimes the angel appeared in human form and spoke to him. She had seen revelation coming to Muḥammad on a very cold day, but when it left him his brow was dripping with sweat.[88] In the tradition of the Lie 'Ā'isha says that Muḥammad was seized by the usual paroxysm and that when he came round what looked like pearls of sweat dripped from him.[89] There is a story of the Prophet being asked a question and giving no reply. Inspiration then descended on him and he was covered with a cloak. 'Umar allowed a friend to look at him, and he saw that his face was red and that he snored. When he came round Muḥammad called for the man who had asked the question and gave him a reply, and it is interesting to note that this reply, which evidently came under the influence of divine inspiration, is not part of what has been preserved in the text of the Qur'ān.[90] It would therefore appear that revelation could come to the Prophet in different ways, and that what came to him, while all of divine origin, was treated on different levels. The Qur'ān was the highest level, but it would seem that Muḥammad could receive a type of inspiration not so high.[91]

There are traditions about an internal purification which Muḥammad underwent. This is always a preliminary to the story of his ascent to heaven, and is evidently meant to suggest that he could not ascend there without it. Elsewhere the story is connected with his youth, but we are confining ourselves to what al-Bukhārī says. The versions vary regarding what was cleansed; the belly, the breast, the heart, and the whole interior being mentioned. There is a difference of opinion as to whether it took place in his house when half asleep,

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[87] *Bad' al-khalq*, 7.

[87a] *ibid.*, 6.

[88] *Bad' al-waḥy*, 2; *bad' al-khalq*, 6.

[89] *Shahādāt*, 15; *Tafsīr*, sūra xxiv, *bāb* 6.

[90] *Ḥajj*, 17; *'Umra*, 10; *Faḍā'il al-qur'ān*, 2. In the tradition of the Lie the revelation which came is found in the Qur'ān.

[91] This will be discussed later.

or in the Ka'ba when sleeping there. Sometimes Gabriel is said to have performed the cleansing; sometimes the one who did it is not specified. The medium of cleansing is usually Zamzam water; and it is usually said that before the incision was closed up, Muḥammad's interior was filled with wisdom and faith which had been brought in a golden basin. *Tauḥīd*, 42 differs from the other traditions in not specifying Zamzam water and not mentioning wisdom.[92] The story of the journey to heaven may have *sūra* xvii, 1 as its basis, but that is not at all clear. The only tangible result seems to have been that, through the advice of Moses, Muḥammad was able to persuade Allah to reduce the number of daily prayers from an impossible number to five. We are also told that Muḥammad met some prophets and others in the various heavens and was greeted cordially by them. The story may therefore serve the purpose of proving that Muḥammad is fulfilling the work of his predecessors.

But while Muḥammad is in accord with his predecessors, he is greater than they. A tradition represents him as saying his relation to them is like a house which has been completed except for one brick, and he declares that he is the brick which makes the house complete.[93] He also says there will be no prophet after him.[94] Among his prerogatives is that of intercession at the Last Day.[95] People will go first to Adam, then to Noah, to ask them to intercede, but they will be unable to do so; therefore people will go to Muḥammad whom God will tell that whatever he asks will be granted.[96]

Although Tradition gives Muḥammad such a high place, it can also at times give a somewhat different picture. He is represented on occasions as saying that he is only human.[97] One might think that such a statement in itself shows that he had too exalted an opinion of his rank; but it is better explained as countering views which some of his followers were inclined to hold, and it is in keeping with what we find in the Qur'ān itself.[98] He tells his followers not to go to extremes in lauding him as was done with Jesus. They must call him simply God's servant and apostle.[99] They must not regard him as better than Moses,[100] or better than the prophets.[101] He will be the first to be raised at the Resurrection, but he will find Moses at the throne and will not know whether he had not been raised first.[102] But perhaps the most remarkable statement attributed to Muḥammad is connected with one who had died. Muḥammad said that cer-

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[92] *Bad' al-khalq*, 6; *Ṣalāt*, 1; *Ḥajj*, 76; *Anbiyā'*, 5; *Manāqib al-anṣār*, 42.
[93] *Manāqib*, 18.
[94] *Anbiyā'*, 50.
[95] *Ṣalāt*, 56.
[96] *Anbiyā'*, 3.
[97] *Al-mazālim wal ghaḍab*, 16; *Ḥiyal*, 10; *Aḥkām*, 20, 22.
[98] iii, 138; xviii, 110; cf. *MW*, xl, pp. 131f.
[99] *Ḥudūd*, 31.
[100] *Khuṣūmāt*, 1; *Riqāq*, 43; *Tauḥīd*, 31.
[101] *Diyāt*, 32.
[102] *ibid.*; *Tafsīr*, sūra 39, *bāb* 3.

tainty had come to the dead man; but although he was Allah's apostle, he did not know what would be done with himself.[103]

What has been described is by no means a full account even of what is contained in al-Bukhārī, but it should be sufficient to show the interest taken in the Prophet. We are not justified in placing trust even in the accounts which may appear to be historical. All we can say is that the picture of the Prophet portrayed in Tradition represents what the community felt to be true. The material is presented as though it came by a regular system of transmission from eye-witnesses and therefore gives an impression of authority; but if we do not necessarily see Muḥammad as he actually was, we see what he came to mean to his followers.

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[103] *Janā'iz*, 3; *Ta'bīr*, 27.

THE JURIDICAL THEORY OF THE ISLAMIC STATE

The basic assumption of the Islamic juridical theory of the state is that authority, regardless of who may be entrusted with its exercise, must be derived originally from a divine source.[1] In this the Islamic theory is in accord with the so-called theocratic conception of the state; but Islam also recognizes the prior existence of several divine orders (a pluralistic world) which Islam intended to repair and reconstruct into a monistic order. The World was at first created to be inhabited not by one, but by a variety of people, each endowed with a divine order representing an image of the universal law.[2] Only Allah (God) has knowledge of the perfect law; it co-existed with him in a heavenly book, known as *The Mother Book,* which may be called the Law of Nature.[3] To each people Allah sent a Prophet, communicating the divine law, which constituted a "covenant" between him and that people.[4] The World before Muḥammad therefore was not conceived of as a unified but as a composite community, each people to conform to their own "covenant" and to submit to their own Prophet. Allah was the supreme and indirect ruler of all.

But these people, one after the other, have often broken their covenants and distorted the teachings of their Prophets.[5] It became necessary, accordingly, to warn them, and Allah decided to send the last of his Prophets, Muḥammad, referred to in the Qur'ān as the "seal of the Prophets,"[6] who warned first his people and then called all others to accept his mission. Thus Muḥammad's teachings (embodied in the term "Islam") were to constitute the final and definitive religion to all people.[7]

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[1] For a discussion of the divine source of authority in Islam, see M. Khadduri, "Nature of the Islamic State." *Islamic Culture,* Vol. IX, pp. 327-331.

[2] *Qur'ān,* 12:120; 38:25-30. The theocratic conception of the state has been clearly developed in the West by such writers as Dante, Nicolaus Cusanus, John of Salisbury, St. Thomas Aquinas and Althusius. For a brief discussion of the theory see Otto von Gierke, *The Development of Political Theory* (New York, 1939), pp. 71-72, 80; *Natural Law and the Theory of Society* (Cambridge, 1934), Vol. II, pp. 303-304. See also J. C. Buntschli, *Allgemeine Staatslehre* (Stuttgart, 1875), pp. 390, 397-399. For the Islamic theocratic conception, see J. Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall* (Calcutta, 1927), Chap. 1.

[3] *Qur'ān,* 43:3. ". . . And it is in the Mother of the Book with us—high and wise." For a comparison of this view with the Natural-Law theory of the state, see von Gierke, *Natural Law and the Theory of Society* (Cambridge, 1934), Vol. I, pp. 35 ff.

[4] For a discussion of the "Covenant" relations between God and Israel, see Paul Ramsey, "Elements of a Biblical Political Theory," *The Journal of Religion,* Vol. XXIX (October, 1949), pp. 258 ff.

[5] *Qur'ān,* 2:56; 4:48; 5:16, 45.

[6] *Qur'ān,* 33:40.

[7] For the controversy whether Islam was preached by the Prophet Muḥammad as a national or universal religion, see M. Khadduri, *The Law of War and Peace in Islam* (London, 1940), pp. 4-6.

In the early Islamic conception society and the state meant the same thing; indeed the term *state* is not to be found in the Qur'ān (nor was it in vogue at Muḥammad's time), but the Qur'ān often refers to organized authority, which belongs to Allah, divine and unlimited. Allah communicated the divine law to his people, thus establishing a "covenant" between himself as "governor" and his people as "governed."[8] But this agreement was by no means between two equals. The divine law was like a *ukase,* a decree from a superior to an inferior. The people accepted the order to observe the divine law and were made liable to punishment if they failed to do so, while Allah remained free and supreme. The very term "Islam" means surrender, or submission to the will of Allah, which reflects the nature of relations between God and man. Thus the relation between the two was in the nature of a contract of submission. Not only is this true in terms of theology, but also in terms of Islamic law. The very basis of a contract in Islamic law is merely a formal *proposal* made by one party and *acceptance* by the other. And this seems to be exactly how Muḥammad approach his people: Islam was proposed by Muḥammad to each individual and the latter submitted, for his own welfare in this World and salvation in the next, to the divine call. For every later member of the Islamic community, whether native-born or converted, the individual contractual basis of submission is recognized on the basis of *pactum tacitum.* Even during the wars of Islamic conquests the rule that Islam must be first proclaimed to non-Muslims was observed; war was resorted to only as an alternative on their refusal to accept Islam or to pay the tribute.[9]

Was the Islamic society based on a single-contract theory or two contracts? By the one-contract theory the people gather together to form a society. According to al-Fārābī and Hobbes, the isolated individuals agreed on a universal contract of submission to a ruler who is vested at once with exclusive power.[10] The double or two-contract theory assumes that once a society is formed by one contract, a king is enthroned by another contract to rule in accordance with

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[8] The term *'ibād Allah* may be used as equivalent to the term "governed" or "subjects."

[9] M. Hamidullah, *Muslim Conduct of State* (Lahore, 1945), pp. 181-183; M. Khadduri, *Law of War and Peace in Islam,* pp. 47-49.

[10] Al-Fārābī (870-950) developed, though in an imperfect and general way, a social compact theory several centuries before Hobbes (1588-1679). To al-Fārābī the Model or Perfect State is a universal state in which all men agree to submit to a just and wise ruler. See Fārābī's *Arā' Ahl al-Madinah al-Fādhilah* and *al-Siyāsat al-Madaniyyah;* cf. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan,* Part II, Chap. XVII. For a discussion of Fārābī's theories see H. K. Sherwani, *Studies in Muslim Political Thought and Administration* (Lahore, 1945) and *The Philosophy of al-Fārābī* (New York, 1947), Chapter V.

certain conditions and limitations on his authority.[11] To which of these two categories does the Islamic State belong? Paul Ramsey contends that Israel's covenant was more like a single-contract establishing God's absolute sovereignty.[12] In the case of the Islamic state during Muḥammad's life there seems to be no difference between the Biblical and Quranic contracts. But a distinction must be made between the *apostolic* state of Muḥammad and the *caliphial* state of his successors. Both, it is true, regarded Allah as the supreme, though not the direct, ruler of the state. Under Muḥammad not only the executive functions of Allah were in operation but also the legislative and judicial functions. Muḥammad, as the mouthpiece of Allah, had monopolized all the powers of Caesar. In more precise terms we may argue that only the *possession* of sovereignty resided with Allah, while its *exercise* was delegated to Muḥammad who, as vicegerent of Allah, was instructed to rule with justice.[13] Allah, accordingly, was the titular head of the state and its source of governing authority; Muḥammad was its head of government.[14]

The *apostolic* state, however, may be said to have undergone a change after Muḥammad's death. The last of the Prophets died without providing a rule for his immediate succession.[15] Was the contract with Allah, accordingly, broken since his representative on earth had passed away? The Islamic community was divided on this issue, one section arguing that it owed allegiance to Allah, not to Muḥammad himself, and that the situation would resolve itself merely to the selection of a successor who would be entrusted with the execution of the divine commands which were still binding upon the Muslims. Another section of the community, the nomads, who were accustomed to the tribal tradition of owing allegiance to the very person of the chief, argued that their allegiance to Muḥam-

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[11] Gierke calls the single-contract *Gesselschaftsvertrag (pacte d'association),* which establishes the state as a political society, and the second-contract *Herrschaftsvertrag (pacte de gouvernement)* which creates the state in a sense of a government. See his *Natural Law and the Theory of Society,* Vol. I, pp. 48, 107-108.

[12] "The distinctive thing about the Hebrew Covenant . . . was God's transcendence over it, not democratic ratification or constitutional contracting," Paul Ramsey, *op. cit.,* p. 265.

[13] *Qur'ān,* 38:25.

[14] Such a state has often been mistakenly called a *theocracy;* but it seems that since God was only indirectly regarded the ruler of the state and it was God's law which was the source of governing authority, it may be more convenient to apply the term *nomocracy* rather than *theocracy.* For further discussion on this point see M. Khadduri, "Nature of the Islamic State," *Islamic Culture,* Vol. XXI (Oct. 1947), pp. 327-331.

[15] The Shī'ī legitimist theory of succession assumed that the Prophet intended that 'Alī, his cousin and son-in-law, was to succeed him. The Caliphate, accordingly, was not based on a new contractual arrangement, but a continuation of the Prophet's rulership. For the Shī'ī theory of the Caliphate, see Sir Thomas W. Arnold, *The Caliphate* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 184 ff.

mad came to an end with his death and they defied the new authority of Madina.

The outcome of this controversy, in the settlement of which force played an important part, was a compromise between the two points of view establishing a new rule. The position of Muḥammad as the executive head of the governing authority was filled by a *Caliph* (*successor* to Muḥammad), but not his Prophetic function of communicating and promulgating the divine law. Thus it was not only that the legislative and executive powers were separated, but also, at least in theory, divine legislation came to an end. The judicial function of the Caliph was reduced merely to the interpretation of the law rather than to make new law. To what extent had this new arrangement changed the contractual basis of the Islamic state?

In the single-contract theory, it will be remembered, the people are regarded as a passive party; they have nothing to do with the institution of any particular form of government since the ruler is entrusted with absolute power. The election of a successor to Muḥammad by the people had obviously introduced the "popular" factor in the selection of the executive head of the government. A new contract seems, therefore, to have been added to the first: a contract between the Muslim community on the one hand, and the Caliph, who was enthroned for the purpose of enforcing the divine law, on the other. Thus the second contract supplemented the first, since it renewed the people's allegiance to Allah as well as requiring the Caliph to carry out all the obligations which he and the people had accepted under their primary contract with Allah.

The question may be asked to whom was the Caliph made responsible—to Allah or to the people? In the double-contract theory, the ruler is enthroned on the basis of certain conditions and limitations to his power. The Caliph's powers were derived from and limited by the divine law; only his appointment was made, or formally confirmed since the Umayyad period, by the people. It follows accordingly that the Caliph who could enjoy as much power as Muḥammad (except perhaps his Prophetic or legislative powers) was responsible to the people only in so far as his faithfulness was concerned in the enforcement of the divine law. But was the Caliph to be dethroned if he violated his obligations? The Muslim jurist-theologians were divided on this point. Al-Māwardī, who worked out in detail the qualifications and functions of the ideal Caliph, argued that if the Caliph did not fulfill, or was incapacitated from fulfilling his duties, he had no right to remain a Caliph.[16] But Māwardī failed to indicate how the Caliph was to be dethroned through

[16] See al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-Sultāniyyah* (Cairo, 1909), pp. 14-17. For an analysis of his theory of the Caliphate, see H. A. R. Gibb, "al-Mawārdī's Theory of the Khilafah," *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XI (July, 1937), pp. 291-302.

proper legal channels. Only the Khawārij, it seems, had openly advocated the principle of revolution. To them the Caliphate was a purely democratic institution, based on a second-contract theory, which empowers the electorate to depose or put to death a Caliph who violated his duties.[17] In contrast to this school of thought, al-Ash'arī not only denied any right of popular revolution but also emphasized the Caliph's full claim to obedience even if he had disregarded or violated his duties.[18] The tendency among the later Muslim publicists was to exalt the position of the Caliph and justify his absolute authority on the grounds of fear of disorder.[19] Some of the publicists went so far as to justify the Caliph's authority on the grounds of a divine right, that they directly presented Allah on Earth.[20] While such theories paid no attention to the actual degraded position of the Caliphate, they sought to give religious sanction to the political powers of the Sultans who virtually usurped the Caliph's authority.

The early Caliphial state, which was based on a double-contract theory, was obviously democratic; but its development under the impacts of Byzantine and Persian traditions gradually transformed it into an autocratic institution. The Muslim jurist-theologians, who on the whole tended to give an *apologia* of its historical development, failed to formulate a critical political philosophy which would point out the inherent justice and democratic spirit of the early contractual basis.

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[17] For the Khārijī Theory of the Caliphate, see Sir Thomas Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-189.

[18] "We uphold the prayer for peace for the Imams of the Muslims, submission to their office, and maintain the error of those who hold it right to rise against them whenever there may be apparent in them a falling away from right. We are against armed rebellion against them and civil war"—translated by D. B. Macdonald in *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory* (New York, 1903), Appendix I, p. 298.

[19] Ibn-Jamā'a, *Tahrīr al-Aḥkām Fi Tadbīr Ahl al-Islām* in *Islamica* (1934), Vol. VI, p. 365.

[20] On the origins and development of the principle of the divine rights of Caliphs, see Ignaz Goldziher, "Ombre de Dieu, Khalife de Dieu," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* Vol. XXV, (1897), pp. 331-338.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SHARĪ'A LAW IV

Further Points Concerning Marriage

Questions of dower and maintenance. In the Ottoman Law of Family Rights, 1917, Art. 69 states simply: "A wife's dower and maintenance become obligatory on her husband on the conclusion of a valid contract of marriage, when mutual rights of inheritance are also established." Similarly Art. 70 decrees: "A husband is obliged to provide his wife with suitable[1] accommodation, with all which this involves, in whatever locality he chooses," while Art. 71 provides that: "After the payment of her prompt dower,[2] a wife is obliged to reside in her husband's house, provided it is suitable accommodation, and to accompany him if he wishes to go to another town, provided there is no legal objection." Now that the complications concerning the entitlement to maintenance of immature wives are no longer applicable,[3] the first of these provisions represents normal Ḥanafī practice: but it is noteworthy that this Law, by silence and implication, appears to adopt the view—much disputed among the Ḥanafīs—that a wife will not forfeit her right to maintenance when her husband is deprived of his marital rights on account of her sickness, imprisonment, detention or any other factor which does not constitute marital disobedience[4] on her part. And the other two Articles represent equally orthodox Ḥanafī doctrine, although the duty of a wife to accompany her husband to another town has been a source of considerable controversy down the ages and the phrase 'legal objection' must be construed as including any danger to the wife either on the journey or in the new locality, any evidence that the husband himself is not to be trusted with her person, or any indication that his motive in demanding the move was only to injure or annoy her.

Again, there is nothing in the least foreign to previous Ḥanafī practice in Art. 72, which provides that neither spouse may accommodate their relatives (with the solitary exception of the husband's infant child) in their matrimonial home without the consent of the other party; in Art. 73, which asserts that a husband is obliged to treat his wife with consideration and the wife to obey her husband in those matters which the law requires; or in Art. 74, which provides that a husband is obliged to treat co-wives with justice and impartiality—except to observe that the failure of either party to fulfill

[1] Shar'ī, i.e. accommodation which fulfills the conditions laid down in the Sharī'a.

[2] i.e., that part of her dower due to be paid at once.

[3] See Arts. 4-6 and 52, and comments in the foregoing article.

[4] See below, Art. 101 etc.

these obligations might well lead to that state of discord *(shiqāq)* for which special provisions, not formerly applicable, are laid down in Art. 130.[5]

Arts. 80-85, again, summarize ordinary Ḥanafī principles about specified and proper dower,[6] prompt and deferred dower[7] and the circumstances in which dower is due in full, in half, in the form of the present known as *mut'a,* or not due at all.[8] But it is noteworthy that these Articles make no mention whatever of "minimum" dower, an omission on which the Explanatory Memorandum comments in the following words: "The least dower considered allowable by the Ḥanafī jurists is ten silver dirhams . . . so if the two contracting parties specify a sum less than this, then ten silver dirhams must be paid. But ten silver dirhams represent a contemptible trifle today if we have regard to their current value, and it would not occur to contracting parties, in any part of the Empire, to specify such a sum: while if we have regard to the value of the dirham and its purchasing power in the early days of Islam, the dower concerned would reach a figure which most people could not afford, which would be contrary to the principle behind the provision. The Ḥanbalī jurists, on the other hand, do not recognise any minimum dower, but leave the sum to be specified in each case by agreement of the contracting parties. This is why no mention is made in this Law of the smallest sum allowable as dower, since it has been accepted that the sum specified by the contracting parties is binding. Art. 80, then, was drafted on this basis."

Art. 87 represents another innovation, for while Art. 86 provides, in orthodox Ḥanafī fashion, that if a dispute arises as to whether a wife's dower was specified or not and its specification cannot be proved[9] then proper dower is binding [except that where it is the wife who alleges its specification the sum should not exceed the amount which she names, while where it is the husband who makes the allegation it should not be less than the sum which he names], Art. 87 reads: "If a dispute arises as to the amount of dower which was specified and the husband alleges a sum which accords with custom, his word is to be accepted." This represents an adoption of the view attributed to Abū Yūsuf instead of the much more complex doctrine of Abū Ḥanīfa and Muḥammad al Shaybānī commonly followed on this point in the Ḥanafī school, for the latter regard both spouses as "plaintiffs" in parallel pleas, each alleging different

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[5] See next article.

[6] Art. 80. Proper dower is that fixed by Court (if necessary) as appropriate to the woman concerned.

[7] Arts. 81 and 82.

[8] Arts. 83, 84 and 85.

[9] Either by testimony produced by the one who makes the allegation, or by refusal of the oath by the one who denies it.

sums: if only one, therefore, can prove his claim or is willing to take the oath the matter is clear, while if both produce testimony, or both are prepared to swear, proper dower is made the arbiter, and the testimony supporting the one whose allegation is furthest from this,[10] or the oath of the one whose statement is nearest thereto, is preferred; while if the proper dower falls between the two claims, this itself is decreed. Abū Yūsuf, on the other hand, takes the simpler view that the wife, who is necessarily claiming a sum greater than that admitted by the husband, should always be regarded as the plaintiff on whom the burden of proof must lie; unless, that is, the husband's claim is manifestly contrary to custom, when he instead must be regarded as the one who alleges something contrary to appearances and proper dower must be decreed, except where the wife herself names some lesser sum. The Explanatory Memorandum remarks in this context that the Dar al Fatwa worked for a long time on the more complex, but more generally accepted, principles; but that since "this type of litigation is most confused and leads to suits being prolonged for years" the simpler view had now been adopted and Art. 87 drafted accordingly.

Art. 88 concerns marriages concluded in death sickness and calls for no comment, while Art. 89—"Dower is the property of the wife and she may not be compelled to provide her *jihāz*[11] therefrom"—is interesting not so much for its juristic content (which is perfectly regular) as for the light which it throws on local customs, contrary to the accepted law, which have in fact survived in many parts. But Art. 90, which enacts that "It is forbidden for parents or relatives to take money or goods in consideration for giving a girl in marriage or handing her over to her husband," represents another innovation, for it is the Shāfi'ī, not the Ḥanafī, system which prohibits such an arrangement.

With regard to a wife's maintenance, the Law of Family Rights follows the Ḥanafī principles previously applicable almost in their entirety. Thus past maintenance can only be recovered after a specific sum has been agreed between the parties or judicially decreed,[12] while maintenance which has been paid in advance cannot be reclaimed on death or divorce, even if it is still intact in the hand of the wife.[13] Again, where a husband, although present, refuses to sup-

[10] Here the only Arabic translation of this Memorandum which I have been able to obtain says the precise opposite, and alleges that the testimony of the one whose allegation is supported by the proper dower is preferred: but this is contrary to basic Ḥanafī principles of procedure and is almost certainly a mistranslation of the Turkish original, especially as the Memorandum goes on to lay down precisely the same principle (this time correctly) about the oath to be taken in default of proof.

[11] The articles with which a wife is usually provided—e.g. clothing, jewelry and household furniture.

[12] Art. 92. [13] Art. 93.

port his wife she may claim maintenance, and the Court will decree a sum, calculated by reference to the circumstances of both parties, with effect from the date of her claim and will order the husband to provide this in advance,[14] but she cannot recover arrears of maintenance prior to such decree;[15] where a husband is unable to support his wife she may claim maintenance, and the Court will decree it with effect from that date as a debt against the husband and will authorize her to borrow on her husband's credit;[16] where a husband leaves his wife without support and disappears, removes himself to some other locality whether distant or close at hand, or becomes "missing," the Court will decree maintenance with effect from the day of her demand, provided she can prove her marriage and will swear that she was given no maintenance, is not "disobedient," and has not been finally divorced,[17] and will authorize her to borrow, if necessary, on her husband's credit;[18] and where a destitute wife has been authorized by the Court to borrow in these circumstances,[19] the one who would have been responsible for her support had she not been married will be compelled to advance money or goods on demand with the right to reclaim this from the husband only, while a stranger who advances her money will have the choice of reclaiming this from either the husband or wife.[20] But the view of Zufar rather than that of the Imām and his Two Companions was adopted in the provision that where an absent husband has property held or owed by a third party who denies either the marriage or the debt, the wife may bring evidence of the one or the other and the Court, after the oaths specified above, will decree her maintenance from this property or its price with effect from the date of her demand. In the opinion of Abū Ḥanīfa and his Two Companions a wife might only secure her maintenance from such property if the party concerned acknowledged both her marriage and his debt or the Court were itself aware of the facts, for they emphasized that the wife was not the true plaintiff in the latter suit and the debtor not the true defendant in the former: while Zufar was prepared to stretch a point here in favor of deserted wives on the grounds that the judgment of the Court in such cases would be for maintenance only and would not involve any final judgment concerning the fact of marriage.[21] But the view of Zufar in this particular has frequently been accepted by Ḥanafīs as authoritative. It is, however, noteworthy in this context that the Law apparently dispenses with two conditions normally insisted on in such cases by the Ḥanafīs; namely, that

[14] Art. 94.
[15] Art. 95.
[16] Art. 96.
[17] And completed her *'idda*.
[18] Art. 97.
[19] i.e., those in both Arts. 96 and 97.
[20] Art. 98.
[21] The clause in Art. 97 above which also allows a deserted wife to prove her marriage is again, of course, an adoption of Zufar's view in this respect.

the wife should produce a guarantor who will guarantee the sums thus advanced to her in case she ultimately proves not to have been entitled to maintenance at all,[22] and also that the property available must be of the same nature as the maintenance required: for the Law makes no mention whatever of the first and expressly refutes the second by providing that maintenance will be decreed "from this property or its price." Arts. 94, 96, 97 and 99, on the other hand, similarly make no mention of the usual Ḥanafī practice that a wife may recover maintenance not only with effect from the date of her petition but for a period not exceeding one month previous thereto.

Finally, the Law also introduces a salutary, although limited, reform by providing that "accumulated sums of maintenance decreed by judgement or by mutual consent do not lapse by divorce or the death of either of the parties, but maintenance which has not been raised on credit by authority of the Court will lapse on the wife's disobedience"[23] (i.e. *nushūz*, defined quite normally in the following Article as leaving her husband's house, etc.). Here the usual Ḥanafī opinion makes accumulated sums of past maintenance lapse on the death of either of the parties, on the grounds that maintenance, in their view, partakes of the nature of a favor *(ṣila)* as well as consideration for the wife's "confinement" *(iḥtibās)*, and favors lapse on death. Again, some Ḥanafī authorities equate divorce with death in this respect; others differentiate them;[24] while others again distinguish divorces caused by the wife's bad character or behavior from ones not so caused, making accumulated sums of past maintenance lapse in the former but not in the latter. All Ḥanafīs, moreover, hold that past maintenance lapses if the wife becomes disobedient, both because of the element of "favor" involved and as a deterrent to such behavior. But none of this applies, of course, if money has actually been raised on the husband's credit, for in this case the original debt to the third party is regarded as his. The Law of Family Rights, then, has maintained the Ḥanafī attitude regarding disobedience but adopted the view of the other Sunnī schools regarding death and divorce.[25] But it is noteworthy that while this reform presumably rests on the juristic basis that maintenance represents, primarily at least, the consideration due from a husband for his wife's confinement, Art. 93, which decrees that maintenance paid in advance cannot be reclaimed, clearly rests on the juristic basis that the element of favor predominates.

The Egyptian reforms regarding dower and maintenance are limited to isolated Articles in the Laws of 1920 and 1929 respectively and make no pretensions to covering more than those points in which

[22] e.g. because she had been divorced, etc.

[23] Art. 100.

[24] Partly on the grounds that to do otherwise would encourage an unscrupulous husband to divorce his wife and so evade his responsibilities.

[25] In so far as the Ḥanafīs themselves differ in regard to the latter.

the accepted Ḥanafī doctrine was to be abandoned in favor of some alternative opinion. They are thus far less comprehensive, if at times much more radical, than the Turkish Law.

Matters of dower are limited to a single Article,[26] which reads: "If spouses dispute regarding the amount of the dower the burden of proof falls on the wife, in default of which the husband's statement will be accepted on oath, unless he claims a sum which could not properly form a dower for a woman of her standing, when 'proper' dower will be made the criterion": that is, if 'proper' dower is less than her claim judgement will be given for the former, while if it is more, for the latter. This, it will be observed, is identical in effect, if not in wording, with the relevant provision in the Law of Family Rights, rests on the same juristic basis, and requires no further comment. But the Egyptian Article includes a further clause, which reads: "The same will be the case where the dispute lies between one of the spouses and the heirs of the other, or between their respective heirs," and this involves a further innovation; for the authoritative Ḥanafī view (which on this point is attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa himself) holds that where both spouses are dead and the dispute lies between their respective heirs, 'proper' dower can neither be regarded as incumbent nor as the appropriate criterion, since it cannot be computed: if, therefore, both sides support their claims by testimony, these will simply cancel each other out. Muḥammad al Shaybānī and Abū Yūsuf, on the other hand, both applied their respective rules indiscriminately to the spouses or to their heirs, and the Law of 1929 has followed Abū Yūsuf in this respect also. This Article, moreover, has been applied verbatim in the Sudan by Judicial Circular No. 41 of 1935 (Art. 10). But the rule had in fact been applied in Egypt long before 1929, for Art. 280 of the Code of Procedure issued in 1910 reads: "Judgements must be given in accordance with the most authoritative Ḥanafī opinion, with the provisions of this Code, and with Abū Yūsuf's opinion in cases of dispute between spouses about the amount of dower."

But the innovations regarding maintenance are not only more numerous but far more drastic. Thus Art. 1 of the Law of 1920 states simply: "The maintenance of a wife who has submitted herself to her husband, if only putatively,[27] is a debt owed by the husband from the time when he fails to support her, provided she is entitled thereto, without this being dependent on any decree or mutual agreement: and this debt will not lapse except by payment or release." Similarly Art. 2 reads: "In the case of a divorced wife who is entitled to maintenance, her maintenance is a debt, as in the preceding Article, from the date of her divorce." Again, Arts. 4 and 5 concern the remedies open

[26] Art. 19 of Law No. 25 of 1929. [27] *Ḥukman.*

to a wife whose husband fails to support her, and while the circumstances in which she may demand dissolution of marriage on these grounds will claim our attention in the next of these articles, it concerns us here to note that if a husband, present or absent, fails to support his wife he is liable to find a decree of maintenance executed out of any of his property which is available.

In the case of a husband who is present this last point represents normal Ḥanafī practice,[28] but in the case of one who is absent it goes far beyond this, for the ordinary Ḥanafī rule provides that the maintenance decreed to the wife of an absent husband may only be realized from property which is of the very nature of the maintenance required (money, food, clothing etc.). Here the Law makes no such restriction, nor does it even differentiate between movable and immovable property—while the corresponding provision in the Sudan is more explicit and reads: "If a husband has property out of which his wife's maintenance can be obtained, a decree of the maintenance to which she is legally entitled will be executed therefrom, whether it be money, movables or immovables."[29] Similarly, it is specifically decreed by the same Circular that "a wife may prove a deposit or debt owed by a third party to her absent husband, or even that immovable property belongs to him, in order to obtain her maintenance therefrom. . . ." This, as we have seen above, represents Zufar's rule about the admissibility of proof in such cases, but extended on Mālikī principles to include property which is not of the same nature as the maintenance required. There is no parallel to this clause in the Egyptian legislation, but Zufar's rule was applied there, as we have seen, long before this Law of 1920; so there can be no doubt that it would now be applied in this extended sense, as implied in Art. 1. It is, moreover, from the Mālikī view (which is shared in this case by the Shāfi'īs and the Ḥanbalīs) that Arts. 1 and 2 have been derived, for these schools, as we have seen, regard maintenance as partaking wholly of the nature of consideration due from the husband for his wife's "confinement," and therefore as an enforceable obligation (which will lapse only by payment or release)[30] with respect to the past as much as to the present, quite apart from any decree or mutual agreement. Here again, moreover, the Egyptian reform finds a reasonably close parallel in the Sudan,[31] although the Sudanese provisions are rather more restricted in their scope.

In addition to provisions as to the length of time during which

[28] Except, of course, that the decree would now include past maintenance as well as present.

[29] Judicial Circular No. 17 of 1915, Art. 1. It is noteworthy that this anticipated the Egyptian reform by some five years.

[30] i.e. disobedience will cause present maintenance to lapse, but not the right to recover maintenance already due.

[31] Judicial Circular No. 28 of 1927, Arts. 8, 16, 17.

maintenance can be claimed in respect of the *'idda* period, which will engage our attention below, the Law of 1929 also includes one provision[32] regarding maintenance which is of a general nature, and reads: "A wife's maintenance shall be calculated by reference to her husband's wealth or poverty, regardless of her own condition." This, too, has been adopted in the Sudan,[33] and represents both the Shāfi'ī and an alternative Ḥanafī view instead of the Mālikī and the previously accepted Ḥanafī principle that the financial standing of both spouses should be taken into account, so that if one were rich and the other poor the maintenance due would be the mean between their respective conditions.[34]

It should, however, be added that it was found in Egypt that the Law of 1920, by decreeing that arrears of maintenance constitute a debt enforceable against the husband with effect from the date when he first failed to provide it, opened the door to false claims for maintenance alleged to have been due over long periods of years. So the precaution was taken of including a clause in the Code of 1931 forbidding the Courts to entertain such claims in respect of any period in excess of three years prior to the suit. This, too, was adopted in the Sudan,[35] and provides another instance of a precaution against false claims supported by perjured testimony which makes no pretensions to touch the substantive law but rests solely on the administrative expedient of denying judicial relief in equivocal circumstances.

Questions of 'idda, paternity and custody of children. All that concerns divorce or the dissolution of marriage—a subject in which notable reforms have already been introduced and others mooted in several Middle East countries—will engage our attention in the next article. Some mention must, however, here be made of innovations regarding the *'idda* period during which a woman who has been widowed or divorced, or whose marriage has been annulled or dissolved, is precluded from remarriage; regarding questions of paternity; and regarding the custody of children.

The Law of Family Rights includes some fourteen Articles concerning the *'idda* itself and the maintenance to which a woman is entitled therein. Most of these do no more than summarize existing Ḥanafī practice and call for no comment here, for it is chiefly with regard to the vexed subjects of the minimum and maximum length of the *'idda* that innovations have been adopted. Art. 139, for instance, after stating quite unexceptionally that the *'idda* which a woman must observe after divorce or the annullment of a valid marriage in which either intercourse of "valid retirement" has taken

[32] Art. 16.
[33] Judicial Circular No. 41 of 1935, Art. 6.
[34] See Law of Family Rights, Art. 94 (above).
[35] Judicial Circular No. 45 of 1936, Art. 1.

place is three complete *qurū'*[36] if she is neither pregnant nor over fifty-five years of age,[37] continues: "and if she claims that her *'idda* has come to an end before three months have elapsed this is not to be accepted." Here Abū Ḥanīfa had put the shortest period after which a wife's word would be accepted regarding the termination of her *'idda* at sixty days, and his Two Companions at thirty-nine days: while the minimum laid down in this Article can be supported by Mālikī, Ḥanbalī and some Shāfi'ī authority and also represents the ordinary length of the *'idda* of divorce in the case of those who observe it by months rather than *qurū'*.[38] But a far more important and controversial question concerns the maximum length of the *'idda,* for here the Explanatory Memorandum summarizes the Ḥanafī law previously applicable by saying: "If a woman who menstruates ceases to do so before the end of her *'idda,* she is compelled, according to the accepted view, to wait until the completion of three *qurū'* unless she has reached the age of despair,[39] however long this may be, and after she has reached this age to wait an additional three months also. This is as injurious to the husband, who has to support her till the end of her *'idda,* as to the wife, who is precluded from marrying another man because her *'idda* has not finished"—to say nothing of the fact that this rule was frequently used by unscrupulous wives to dun their former husbands for maintenance year after year by the simple device of a false claim that their *'idda* had not yet ended. "But the Imām Mālik," the Memorandum continues, "held that a wife's *'idda* (in such cases) is a period of three months after she has waited nine months from the time when it first became incumbent: and the most prominent of later Ḥanafīs have allowed *fatwas* to be given according to the view of the Imām Mālik. For this reason the above mentioned view has been adopted in this Code, and Art. 140 has been drafted on this basis." It is, however, noteworthy both that this represents a considerable over-simplification of the Mālikī view and also that the Article concerned, as actually drafted and applied, cuts even this down to a total of nine months only.[40]

Arts. 141-146 all represent perfectly normal Ḥanafī practice concerning the *'idda* of widowhood, the *'idda* incumbent after the consummation of an irregular marriage, the *'idda* of pregnant women, and the fact that no *'idda* at all need be observed where a contract of marriage (valid or irregular) is dissolved before it has been "rein-

[36] Interpreted here in true Ḥanafī fashion as menses.
[37] The "age of despair," according to the common computation.
[38] See Art. 142. [39] i.e. fifty-five.
[40] Art. 140 reads: "If the woman undergoing her *'idda* does not experience menses at all, or only does so once or twice and then no more, all depends on whether she has reached the age of despair: if so, she must wait three months from the date of so doing; while if not, she must wait nine months from the time when the *'idda* became incumbent."

forced" by consummation or valid retirement. The same is true of Art. 147, which concerns the duty of a wife whose husband dies during her *'idda* of divorce and provides that if the divorce was revocable she must observe the *'idda* of widowhood, but not if her divorce was irrevocable: although here it is noteworthy that no mention is made of the exceptional case of the husband who is regarded as trying to evade the laws of inheritance by divorcing his wife irrevocably during his death sickness, for the Ḥanafī rule in such cases is to allow her to inherit and make her observe whichever happens to be longer in the circumstances, the *'idda* of widowhood or the *'idda* of divorce. It is also of interest that Art. 148 states that among Jews the *'idda* is always binding after divorce, annulment of marriage, or widowhood, following either a valid or irregular marriage; and that its length is ninety-one days unless the woman is pregnant or the mother of an infant, when it lasts until the child has completed two years, or, should it die, until ninety-one days thereafter. Similarly Art. 149 provides that among Christians the *'idda* lasts for one year: but one version of the Law which I have seen dates this from the separation of the spouses and adds "even if the wife gives birth to a child before this," while another dates this from the Arba'īn[41] "unless she gives birth to a child previously." The remaining Articles on this subject (150-153) concern maintenance during the *'idda* and include nothing which calls for comment here.

The Egyptian reforms on this subject fall into two stages. Thus the Law of 1920[42] applied, but more accurately, the Mālikī rules on which Art. 140 of the Law of Family Rights was officially based. In effect it decreed that a woman's *'idda,* for purposes of maintenance only, would in all cases be regarded as ended if, after completing the suckling of her infant, she ever went a complete year without menses. This meant that even one who was prepared to perjure herself to the hilt could in no circumstances claim maintenance on the grounds of the continuation of her *'idda* for more than three years if she was not suckling an infant or five if she was. But in 1929 this reform was taken a stage further and applied to claims other than those for maintenance. Thus Art. 17 provides: "No claim for maintenance shall be heard in respect of the *'idda* period in excess of one year from the date of divorce. Nor shall any disputed claim of inheritance on the grounds of marriage be heard regarding a divorced woman whose husband died more than a year after the date of divorce." And it is largely on the same basis that Art. 15 provides: "No disputed claim of paternity shall be heard regarding the child of a wife where non-access of the spouses to each other from the date of the contract can be established,

[41] The mourning ceremony commonly held forty days after death.
[42] Art. 3.

nor regarding the child of a wife who gave birth to him more than a year after her husband left her, nor yet the child of a divorced or widowed woman who gave birth to him more than a year[43] after her divorce or widowhood." And to each of these provisions the Sudanese Judicial Circulars provide parallels,[44] some previous, and some subsequent, to the Egyptian reforms; although it is noteworthy that in the Sudan an exception is still made in favor of nursing mothers, from whom claims of maintenance may be heard in certain circumstances for a period not exceeding three months after the end of their time of suckling their infants.

The Explanatory Memorandum issued with the draft Egyptian Law of 1929 has much to say concerning each of these Articles. After rehearsing that even the reform of 1920 still allowed dishonest wives to claim maintenance for three or even five years, it continues: "Complaints have multiplied from husbands concerning the tricks and devices used by their divorced wives in order to obtain maintenance to which they are not entitled. So the Ministry decided that the public welfare demands the amendment of this rule in accordance on the one hand with the assurance of our medico-legal expert that the longest period of gestation is one year, and on the other with the principle that the Ruler may forbid the Courts to entertain certain suits in which perjury and trickery abound." It then remarks that exactly the same devices are used by divorced wives, whose husbands die long after the date of their divorce, in order to claim a share in their estate on the grounds that their *'idda* periods have not ended and that they still count as wives (provided, of course, that the divorce was only of the revocable variety, a condition which the Law of 1929 was itself designed greatly to increase).[45] In such circumstances, moreover, it was almost impossible for the other heirs to disprove this claim, for the facts involved were such as no one but the claimant herself could normally know: so the same precaution of debarring the Courts from hearing suits in which perjury was prevalent was adopted.

As for claims of paternity, the Memorandum observes: "On the basis of the rules which must at present be applied, the paternity of the child of a married woman is established at whatever time he is born and however far distant the spouses may be from each other. A husband in the West is even considered the father of a child born to a wife in the East in spite of the fact that their marriage was concluded while each continued to live in his own locality and they had never met, from the time of the marriage until the birth of the child, in any way which could give them access to each other, on no better

[43] In all these cases the year concerned is solar. See Art. 23 of the Law of 1929.
[44] See No. 28 of 1927, Arts. 5 and 6; No. 41 of 1935, Arts. 7, 8 and 9.
[45] See next article.

grounds than the theoretical possibility of their having met. Similarly the paternity of the child of an irrevocably divorced woman is established provided she gives birth to him less than two years after her divorce, or of a widow provided she gives birth to him less than two years after her widowhood. As for the child of a woman divorced in the revocable form, his paternity is established however long after her divorce she gives birth to him, provided she has not acknowledged the end of her *'idda* period. And the application of these rules at a time when corruption and dishonesty are widespread has encouraged people to allege the legitimate paternity of illegitimate children—a fact about which there have been many complaints."

The Memorandum then proceeds to point out that the opinions of jurists regarding paternity were based on their views about the longest period of gestation, most of which were themselves only founded on the statements of certain women regarding the length of their pregnancies, while "others, like Abū Ḥanīfa, based their views in this matter on a tradition reported from 'Ā'isha to the effect that the longest period of gestation is two years, whereas there is no text of the Qur'ān or Sunna regarding the longest period of gestation. So the Ministry saw no objection to consulting medical opinion about the length of pregnancy; and the medico-legal expert gave his opinion that for legislative purposes 365 days should be regarded as the longest period of gestation, so as to include all exceptional cases." As a consequence the same principle of debarring the Courts from hearing cases of a kind in which perjury and dishonesty abound was brought into play—although it should be added that for the rule about non-access Mālikī and Shāfi'ī support could also be adduced.

Finally, this seems the most convenient place to record certain very cautious reforms in the law relating to the custody of children *(ḥaḍāna)*. The Ottoman Law of Family Rights has no provisions on this subject, but the Egyptian Law of 1929 includes an Article[46] which reads: "The Qāḍī may give permission for women's right to the custody of a boy to be extended from the age of seven up to nine, and of a girl from the age of nine up to eleven, if it appears that their welfare so requires." Here the Explanatory Memorandum comments: "The practice up till now has been for the right of *ḥaḍāna* to end when a boy reaches seven and a girl nine, but experience has shown that at these ages a boy or girl may not be able to dispense with such custody and may be in danger if handed over to others, especially if their father is married to someone who is not their mother. For this reason there have been many complaints from women whose children have been torn from them at this age. Now the criterion accepted by the Ḥanafī school is that a boy should be handed over to his father when

[46] Art. 7.

he can dispense with the services of women and a girl when she reaches the age of desire: but jurists have differed in their estimation of the age at which a boy can dispense with their services, some regarding this as seven and some as nine; while some, again, have regarded the age of desire as nine and some as eleven. In these circumstances the Ministry has come to the conclusion that the public welfare requires that the Court should have liberty to decided what is of most benefit to a boy after the age of seven and to a girl after the age of nine and, if it considers it best for them to remain in the custody of women, to decree this up to the age of nine and eleven respectively; but if it considers that this would not be for their welfare, to decree that they be handed over to others."

On this point, too, a similar provision was introduced in the Sudan by Judicial Circular No. 34 of 1932, but one which in this case went a good deal further than the Egyptian reform. This allows the Court, where it considers this in the best interests of the boy or girl concerned, to decree that they should remain in the custody of women up till puberty in the case of boys and up till the commencement of married life in the case of girls (or, if a father marries his daughter prematurely with the express purpose of terminating this right, then up till the date when married life should properly commence rather than that of any premature commencement). The juristic basis for these more robust extensions of the time of *ḥaḍāna* is Mālikī rather than Ḥanafī, so the Circular is only consistent when it provides that women who claim this extension have no right to demand wages for their services therein, since the Mālikīs do not allow wages for *ḥaḍāna* at all.[47]

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[47] It is noteworthy that all the provisions in the Law of Family Rights discussed in this article are in force in Jordan, with the exception of Arts. 148 and 149 (which concern Jews and Christians respectively). The Law is also, of course, in force in Lebanon and Syria.

IGNACE GOLDZIHER (1850-1921)*

"The gold of your knowledge and work are of higher carat than that of the medal. Yet I am glad to hand this over to you as a reward for your ingenious endeavors for Oriental sciences."

It was with these words that King Oscar II of Sweden presented on 3 September 1889 to Ignace Goldziher one of the two gold medals offered to the VIIIth International Congress of Orientalists at Stockholm, the other medal having been presented to Theodor Nöldeke. This distinction was awarded to him on the occasion of the appearance of his *Muhammedanische Studien.*

These royal words are worth remembering, for the fundamental works[1] of Ignace Goldziher have as permanent a value as gold wherever Oriental studies are cultivated.

His Life. Ignace Goldziher was born on 22 June 1850 at Székesfehérvár, Hungary. He descended from a respectable Jewish family, the ancestors of which had been goldsmiths at Hamburg in the 16th century,—hence the origin of the family name. Among the descendants of the maternal line of his family we find the names of Heinrich Heine and Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy. One of the Hamburg Goldzihers, Moses, settled in 1735 at Köpcsény in the west of Hungary (now Kittsee in Austria) where his descendants were leather-dealers for generations. From there Adolf Goldziher moved in 1842 to Székesfehérvár where his son was born.

Goldziher displayed a rare intellectual genius in his early youth, having published at the age of twelve a treatise on the origin and fixed time of the Hebrew prayers called *piyyuts.* At sixteen he attended the lectures of Arminius Vámbéry at the University of Budapest. Two years later, having passed his maturity examination at the Calvinist Lyceum of Budapest, he was sent with a State scholarship to Germany where he studied under Rödiger in Berlin in 1868 and under H. L. Fleischer and G. Ebers in Leipzig in 1869. Under the former he, at the age of nineteen, took his degree of Ph.D.

Having studied the Arabic MSS. at Leyden and Vienna, he became *privatdozent* at Budapest in 1871. During the academic year 1872-73 he was lecturer of Hebrew in the Calvinist Theological Faculty at Budapest. A remarkable event in his life was his Oriental journey from September 1873 to April 1874, made with the support

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[1] According to B. Heller, *Bibliographie des Oeuvres de Ignace Goldziher,* Paris 1927 (Publications de l'Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes), his literary work contains 580 pieces. A. Scheiber, *A Supplementary Bibliography of the Literary Work of Ignace Goldziher,* in *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume,* Part I, Budapest 1948, pp. 419-29, increases this number to 681.

of the Hungarian government. First he studied in al-Azhar Mosque at Cairo, where he was admitted to certain lectures with a special authorization, then he visited Syria and Palestine. In all the three Muslim countries he collected valuable material, printed books and MSS., for the library of the Hungarian Academy of Science. He returned to Budapest and, having refused an invitation to the director's post of the Khedivial Library at Cairo, spent most of his life at the Hungarian capital, leaving it only to take part in international scientific congresses and to lecture at foreign universities.

For thirty years having no university chair, from 1876 to 1905, he was secretary of the modernist Israelite community at Pest. During this time he could only devote his evening and night hours to study. Yet, despite many distinguished invitations to foreign universities, including one to Cambridge to the chair of William Robertson Smith in 1894 and to the Fuad I University at Cairo in 1911, he remained faithful to his country.

In 1894 he became titulary, and in 1904 veritable, Professor of Semitics in the University of Budapest and filled his chair until his death. Simultaneously, from 1900 until his death he lectured on Jewish religious philosophy in the Jewish Theological Seminary, Budapest, and from 1914 onward, on Muslim law and institutions in the Juridical Faculty of the University of Budapest.

In 1876 he was elected a corresponding, and in 1892 an ordinary, member of the Hungarian Academy of Science, and became in 1910 the president of its Philological section. From 1899 on he represented his Academy in the International Association of the Academies. As early as 1897 he made a proposal for an encyclopaedia of Islamic sciences, and it was owing to his initiative that the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* came into being.

He was honorary member of eight foreign academies of science and eight foreign Oriental societies, and foreign member of three foreign learned societies, including the Royal Asiatic Society, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the British Academy and the American Oriental Society. In 1904 the University of Cambridge, England, conferred on him the degree of D. Litt., and in 1906 he received the degree of LL.D. from the University of Aberdeen, Scotland. For decades he was a member of the permanent central committees of the International Congress of Orientalists and those of the History of Religions, and a permanent president of the Islamic section of the former Congresses.

His was a quiet, scholarly life devoted to research. When death overtook him on 13 November 1921, he was mourned and remembered all over the learned world.

His Work. In his earliest post-graduate years Goldziher started

with Hebrew studies but very soon he turned to Islam and Arabic. His work has been from the outset decisively influenced by the fact that in 1869 he was the most distinguished of the pupils of H. L. Fleischer at Leipzig. It was Fleischer's professor, A. I. Sylvestre de Sacy of Paris, who had made Oriental studies independent of theology.

To his first works, which were in the line of Hebrew, belonged his Ph.D. thesis, *Studien über Tanchūm Jerūschalmi,* on a medieval commentator of the Bible in Arabic, Leipzig 1870, as well as his *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern,* Leipzig 1876, which was translated by Russell Martineau into English under the title *Mythology among the Hebrews and Its Historical Development,* London 1877. This English translation caused a sensation all over the world, including many articles in the daily press. In this work he, using the method applied by Sir George William Cox to the Greeks and Romans, took sides with the pro-Semite exegetical views and against E. Renan's pro-Aryan theory, and emphasized the victory of prophetic teaching over the myths. It was in this book that he laid down his method of going back to the sources, *ad fontes,* which he later applied to Islam also.

Like his distinguished contemporary and intimate friend, Duncan B. Macdonald of Hartford, Conn., Goldziher also soon "became convinced that Arabic, Arabia and the Arabs preserved a second, an independent and a contemporary commentary of the Bible."[2] He too turned to Arabic and Islam and devoted his life to them. Together with Julius Wellhausen of Göttingen and Christian Snouck Hurgronje of Leyden he became known as one of the founders of Islamology as an independent study with distinct methods of research. He was the first to treat of Islamic traditions with Western scientific criticism, to interpret Muslim law, and to sketch the religious development of Islam, with special regard to its internal theological struggles. His field of research, consequently, covered the whole domain of Islamic culture, with the possible exception of the recent political history of the Muslim countries which he did not deal with in his works in foreign languages although, according to the testimony of a number of his Hungarian papers, he paid great attention to it to the end of his life.

Islam did not attract him only as a scientific problem. He was profoundly impressed by its monotheism and high moral values. In his works he frequently expressed his appreciation of Islam, thereby contributing not a little to the spiritual *rapprochement* of East and West.

He laid the foundation stones of Islamology with four great

[2] See Edwin E. Calverley, *Duncan Black Macdonald, The Moslem World,* Vol. XXIV, Hartford 1944, p. 1.

works. In *Die Ẓāhiriten, ihr Lehrsystem und Geschichte,* Leipzig 1884, he, on unedited sources, treats of the historical development of the now extinct "fifth rite," the Ẓāhirī juridical school of Sunnī Islam. In the preface he gives the first systematic introduction in Western scientific literature into the principles and methods of Muslim canon law *(fiqh),* pointing out the contrast between orthodoxy and the Ẓāhirīs as well as the significance of the interpretation of the Qur'ān. Therefore, this is a veritable pioneer work for it laid the foundation of the study of Muslim canon law with Western scientific methods.

Just as his *Die Ẓāhiriten* is of fundamental importance in the history of Muslim law, his *Muhammedanische Studien,* 2 vols., Halle 1889-90, is an epoch-making work in the religious history of Islam. In the first volume he sketches with a masterly pen how aristocratic Bedouin tribalism, the *muruwwa,* was overcome by the anti-racial and democratic religious sentiment, the *dīn* of Islam, whose spirit finally became victorious over Persian nationalism also, thus amalgamating the whole Middle East into one religious and cultural unity. He treats of the numerous survivals of Bedouin paganism in Islam, and especially of the *shu'ūbiyya* movement which was the resurrection three centuries later of Arab racial pride and a reaction against the demands of equalization *(taswiya)* of Islamized non-Arab peoples.

In the second volume he expounds the formation and development of Muslim traditions *(ḥadīth).* He points out that in the wake of the first conquests of Islam and in the course of contact with alien peoples there emerged such administrative tasks and spiritual problems as could not possibly be solved with reference to the Qur'ān only. To make up for this deficiency, oral tradition *(sunna)* had very early developed on the Jewish pattern, the several items of which are the *ḥadīths.* As they were only considered authentic if they were proved by a chain of intermediary traditionists leading back to the prophet Muḥammad *(isnād),* they were falsified in an ever increasing number either in the service of political or religious party interests or, to a smaller extent, also for the purpose of moral edification. He shows how *ḥadīth* criticism developed in Islam and with what method the traditionists compiled the *ḥadīths,* to which subject he appends a thorough study of the recensions of *al-Muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik bin Anas. The volume ends with very important material on the cult of saints and relics in Islam.

One chapter of the *Muhammedanische Studien,* entitled *Hadith and the New Testament,* was published in 1902 in English translation by the London Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. It points out how the Lord's Prayer got among the *ḥadīths.*

The *Muhammedanische Studien* has to this day remained an inexhaustible source of the religious history of Islam.[3]

The first handbook of Islamology is his *Vorlesungen über den Islam,* Heidelberg 1910, 2nd edition 1925.[4] It owes its origin to American science. In 1908 the American Committee for Lectures on the History of Religion invited him to lecture on Islam, but for reasons of ill health the arrangement was not concluded. This book is the lectures he had prepared. In six chapters he treats of Muhammad and the genesis of Islam; the development of the law from its primitive origin into minute formalism and insincere casuistry; the dogmatic development, the bi-furcation into orthodoxy and rationalism and the mediation of al-Ash'arī; asceticism and Ṣūfism, with special regard to external, Hindu and Hellenistic influences, and legalization of mysticism by al-Ghazālī; the sects of Islam, the Khārijites, orthodox Shī'ites and Ismaelites; recent formations like the Wahhābism, Bābism and Bahāism, Sikhism, and Aḥmadiyya as well as the unifying tendencies of Islam.

Of this excellent book Professor Richard Gottheil wrote: "I consider this book the best presentation of Islam that we have and advise my students to study it carefully in order to get a good idea of one of the world's greatest religions."[5] How much this is the general opinion in East and West, is evident from the fact that it was translated into Russian, 1911, Hungarian, 1912, English, 1917,[6] French, 1920, Arabic, 1947, and Hebrew, in print.

Goldziher's last great work is *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koran-auslegung,* Leyden 1920. It owes its origin to his invitation to the University of Uppsala in 1913 to deliver the Olaus Petri lectures of that year. With the method of the *Vorlesungen über den Islam* he points out in this book that we can find all the theological schools in the exegesis of the Qur'ān, the literal and traditional grammatical school of Ibn 'Abbās; the rationalistic school of the Mu'tazilites, the decline of which is marked by az-Zamakhsharī's *Kashshāf* before the

[3] To the eternal detriment of science, early in 1945, during the siege of Budapest, there perished Goldziher's own interleaved hand-copy of the work which was considerably enlarged with his notes and additions. The same fate then befell the hand-copies of the *Vorlesungen über den Islam* and the *Kitāb ma'ānī an-nafs.* Fortunately, however, there has remained safe and intact, in the library of the present writer, his hand-copy of Freytag's *Lexicon arabico-latinum.* As his well-nigh daily insertions continued through half a century until the day of his death, his *Freytag* is considered even more valuable than the hand-copies of his famous contemporaries, Th. Nöldeke and M. J. de Goeje.

[4] In the not very successful edition of Franz Babinger who, unfortunately, did not make full use of Goldziher's hand-copy, which perished meanwhile; cf. note 3.

[5] In his letter of 3 April 1935 to the present writer.

[6] Translated by Kate Chambers Seelye under the title *Mohammed and Islam,* with an introduction by Morris Jastrow. It was printed simultaneously at New Haven, Conn., and London and was recalled by Goldziher on account of its deficiencies and was never re-issued.

reaction of al-Bayḍāwī; the mystic schools, the opinions of the sects, and modernism.

This book appeared in Swedish translation in 1915, and its first three chapters also in an Arabic translation in 1944.

These four works, especially the *Vorlesungen über den Islam,* display an important trait of Goldziher's genius, his universality. In discussing detailed problems he always had the whole of Islam in mind, and he understood in a masterly manner how to place Islam in the development of the whole of mankind. For this reason foreign influences—Jewish, Christian, Parsee or Buddhist—on Islam were always his favorite topic. This is why he wrote excellent summaries, like *Die Religion des Islam,* Leipzig 1906, and *Die islamische und die jüdische Philosophie,* Leipzig 1909, both making part of the collection, *Die Kultur der Gegenwart.* To this line belongs also his summary of the Muslim law, *The Principles of the Law of Islam* in *The Historian's History of the World,* London 1907, his fundamental article on *Muslim Education* in J. Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* Edinburgh 1912, and the article, *Islam,* in *The Jewish Encyclopedia,* New York and London 1904. And, last but not least, his universality also manifested itself in his quality of reconciling Muslim orthodoxy with the progress of Western scientific research. In 1908 he was summoned by the Austro-Hungarian Common Ministry of Finance, then the supreme authority of Bosnia-Herzegowina, to write a textbook of Arabic literature for the Muslim grammar schools of both provinces. In the following year his textbook appeared in Croatian at Sarajevo. It had a favorable reception even on the part of orthodox Muslim clergy, and it was for the same reason that the late Sir M. Aurel Stein considered it so important for the education of the Muslim countries. Its enlarged edition in English translation has been prepared by the present writer for publication, appropriately on the occasion of the centenary of his author's birth.

Besides Islamology, Goldziher was an eminent scholar of Arabic philology. Again, it is his universal genius that characterizes his philological work. He adopted entirely the thesis of the French Indologist, E. Burnouf, that veritable philology is inconceivable without philosophy and history. The chief task of the Orientalist, as Goldziher put it, is to study, with a sound philological equipment and the use of original sources, the history of Oriental peoples and cultures, always with special regard to their influence on the universal spiritual development of mankind. Indeed it would be difficult to separate the philological matter from the historical in his works.

His first papers as an Arabist were his *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachgelehrsamkeit bei den Arabern,* in the *Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Klasse* of the Viennese Academy, 1871-73, and his subsequent *Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte der Šī'a und der sunnitischen*

Polemik, in the same series, 1874. In the second volume he edits as-Sijistānī's *Kitāb al-mu'ammarīn* from its MS. at Cambridge, with an important introduction on trade guilds in the Islamic community.

His view of philology is also evident from his editions of Arabic texts. We especially mention his critical edition of the *dīwān* of Gharwal ibn Aus al-Ḥuṭay'a, in *ZDMG,* Leipzig 1892, and also as a separate volume. In his *Le livre de Mohammad ibn Toumert, Mahdi des Almohades,* Alger 1903, he publishes the book of the founder of the Almohades in Arabic with critical notes and a long and important introduction. Four years later he also edited the *Kitāb ma'ānī annafs* by an unknown author, Göttingen 1907, which is a prominent source of Arab-Jewish religious philosophy. In his *Streitschrift des Gazālī gegen die Bātinijja-Sekte,* Leiden 1916, he edited al-Ghazālī's *Kitāb faḍā'iḥ al-Bāṭiniyya wa faḍā'il al-Mustaẓhiriyya,* a good manual of the doctrine of this sect of socialist tendencies.

But not only are these large and independent works of his important. His hundreds of smaller papers, historical and philological, and even his shortest notes are also of permanent value. We particularly name his thirty-four *Mélanges judéo-arabes, RÉJ,* Paris 1900-10, in the field of Jewish-Arab philology, his *Islamisme et Parsisme,* read before the 1st International Congress of the History of Religions, Paris 1900, in English translation *Influence of Parsism on Islam,* Bombay 1912, in the comparative history of religions; *The Progress of Islamic Science in the Last Three Decades,* read before the Congress of Art and Science held on the occasion of the Universal Exhibition at St. Louis, Mo., 1904, where his "opponent speaker" was Duncan B. MacDonald, in the history of Islamic studies; *Aus der Theologie des Fachr al-dīn al-Rāzī* in *Der Islam,* Berlin 1912, and the *Katholische Tendenz und Partikularismus in Islam,* being his festival lecture at the Fehr-Rydberg meeting of the Swedish Society of the History of Religions, Stockholm 1913, in Muslim theology; and his *Tradition und Dogma,* held at the Stockholm synagogue in 1913, and also published in English in *The Reform Advocate,* Chicago 1914, in Jewish theology.

From among his very numerous Hungarian papers we particularly note one on a subject on which he never wrote in his works in foreign languages. This is his *A történetirás az arab irodalomban* (The Writing of History in Arabic Literature), Budapest 1895, in which he points out that the Arabs of the early times had no historical sense and their historiography was decisively influenced by Persian genius.[7] A series quite apart among his Hungarian works are his memorial speeches held over the deceased Orientalist members, Hungarian and

[7] For a short summary of this paper in English see my paper *The Kitāb al-muntaẓam of Ibn al-Jauzī, JRAS,* London 1932, pp. 49-50.

foreign, of the Hungarian Academy of Science, including his master H. L. Fleischer, E. Renan, A. Barbier de Meynard, and M. Jan de Goeje, which by far surpass the usual level of such speeches, being all valuable contributions to the history of Oriental studies as well.

His Significance. Goldziher's geniality as it appears from his extensive literary work was admitted by all his competent contemporaries, including his most prominent friend and colleague, Th. Nöldeke.[8] According to C. H. Becker, Islamology is the work of Goldziher and Snouck Hurgronje, for it was due to them that the central problems of Islam (*fiqh* and mysticism, to which we must, with regard to Goldziher, add *ḥadīth*) have been elaborated and Islam can now be considered as a separate and distinct culture, which should be studied from religious starting points.[9]

Accordingly, the great merit of Goldziher and Snouck Hurgronje is the foundation of Islamology as a special science with its own peculiar methods of research. It is interesting to note that these two great scholars came to the same results through entirely opposite channels. Goldziher, with the exception of two contributions to G. Ebers' *Ägypten in Wort und Bild,* 2 vols., Stuttgart und Leipzig, 1879-80, did not borrow material from his own personal experiences made on his Oriental journey, his authorities being the original works of Arab and other Oriental authors. Snouck Hurgronje, on the contrary, referred to literary sources in the historical chapters of his works only, and his researches were the results of his immediate observations made on his travel to Makka in 1884 and during his seventeen years of activity at Batavia as cultural adviser from 1888 to 1905.

Goldziher's influence on the development of Islamic studies has been vast. This can be studied from two sources. First, his extensive correspondence, which is, together with his literary remains, at the Hungarian Academy of Science, Budapest,[10] is a rich repository of Islamic problems as developed or advanced by him. Second, over two hundred reviews of books show how he influenced the work of two generations of Orientalists. These reviews were always benevolent in tenor and helped not a little the careers of young students in encouraging them.

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[8] Cf. Chr. Snouch Hurgronje, *Theodor Nöldeke, ZDMG,* Leipzig 1931, p. 281.

[9] See C. H. Becker, *Ignaz Goldziher, Der Islam,* Bd. XII, Berlin 1922, pp. 214-15.

[10] See my paper *A Collection of the Literary Remains of Ignace Goldziher, JRAS,* London 1933, pp. 149-54. Many of his British and American friends are enumerated on p. 150, note 1. After the appearance of my paper several foreign scholars sent in to the Hungarian Academy of Science Goldziher's letters to them. Especially noteworthy are Goldziher's very numerous letters to Chr. Snouck Hurgronje written during the Batavian civil service of the latter, which, in compliance with Snouck Hurgronje's last will, were presented by his widow to the Hungarian Academy of Science. So this institution is in the possession of the complete mutual correspondence of two of Goldziher's most distinguished friends, Th. Nöldeke (see my paper, p. 150) and Chr. Snouck Hurgronje.

Both his correspondence and his reviews testify to his attractive and ever friendly character which secured for him an unusually wide circle of friends and admirers. A number of Orientalists were stimulated by his works in their researches, thus M. van Berchem in his study of the caliphs' titles, P. Lammens in that of the Umayyad government, L. di Caetani in studying the *ṣaḥīfas* of the first century A.H., A. J. Wensinck in compiling his great lexicographical inventory of the *ḥadīth* collections, Tor Andrae in his study of Muḥammad as a social type,[11] C. H. Becker in his universal concept of Islam as a religious, cultural, and political entity, and L. Massignon in his studies of Muslim mysticism.

His influence was still greater on his direct disciples, among whom there were also a number of foreigners who came to Budapest with the sole purpose of making post-graduate studies under him. Curiously enough, his first foreign disciples at the end of the 19th century were the American Frank D. Chester, later U. S. Consul at Budapest, and the Russian Alexander E. von Schmidt, later professor at St. Petersburg. Before World War I, A. S. Yahuda, later professor at Madrid, Berlin, New Haven, and New York, studied under him for a period of many years, spending several months each time at Budapest. From 1911 W. H. T. Gairdner, head of the Anglican Church Mission, Cairo, spent several summers at his house. Prior to World War I, Johs. Pedersen, now professor at Copenhagen, completed his studies under him, and Fr. Kern, *privatdozent* at Berlin, spent three years by his side. Small wonder that Mrs. I. Goldziher jocularly referred to their home as "the *qibla* of Oriental sciences," despite the fact that "there are so many universities between St. Petersburg and Budapest."

The tangible proofs of his lasting influence on Islamic and Semitic studies are two jubilee volumes edited in his lifetime and a memorial volume recently issued. In 1910 ten of his pupils combined to issue a volume in Hungarian on his 60th birthday. In the following year the voluminous *Festschrift Ignaz Goldziher,* edited by C. Bezold with a preface of Th. Nöldeke, Strassburg 1911, appeared to celebrate the 40th anniversary of his academic activity with the collaboration of fifty-one Orientalists. And when shortly after World War II his last pupils made a suggestion for issuing an *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume* to commemorate the 25th anniversary of his death and the centenary of his birth, so many foreign Orientalists, the younger of whom only knew him by his work, sent in their contributions that the publication of a two-volume work has been necessary.[12] With the publication of the *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume* the editors

[11] cf. L. Massignon, *In Memoriam Ignace Goldziher,* in B. Heller, *op. cit.,* pp. XIII-XIV.

[12] Editors: Samuel Löwinger, Ph.D., and Joseph Somogyi, Ph.D., D.Sc., Part I, Budapest 1948; Part II, Budapest (in print).

have desired to carry into effect the credo of the great master: to strengthen the links of international coöperation because this contributes more than anything else to the realization of a permanent world peace.

Professor Charles C. Torrey of New Haven, Connecticut, properly characterized Goldziher as "the prince of scholars and the most human of men."[13] On a later occasion he stated: "I found him a most delightful companion at all times. The traits that impressed me most were his clear view of men and things, and his wide sympathy. He was a great man as well as a great scholar."[14]

It is impossible to characterize Goldziher better than his distinguished American friend did in these words. For, indeed, he was "the prince of scholars" whose fame will live forever in Islamic studies. His works cannot be neglected by any student of Islam or Semitics, irrespective of nationality or religion. But he was a great man as well, the embodiment of good-will, who helped everyone he could. Now, a century after his birth, all his pupils and admirers all over the world reverently think of him who "was a great man as well as a great scholar."

JOSEPH SOMOGYI

Budapest, Hungary

[13] In his letter of January 29, 1939, to the present writer.
[14] In his letter of November 7, 1949, to the present writer.

Muslim Institutions. By Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes, translated from the French by John P. MacGregor. London, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. pp. 216. $3.50.

This valuable study is translated from the original French *Les Institutions Musulmanes,* which is favorably known to most Orientalists. This English edition has been read and approved by the author himself. A few errors in the French edition have been corrected and some brief passages introduced covering events in the world of Islam since 1945.

In fourteen chapters we have a masterly exposition of nearly every aspect of Islam. Its origin and extraordinary global conquest, its dogmas, its legal system, religious cult, the caliphate, the family structure, property rights, justice, social customs, economic and intellectual life, and a concluding chapter (pp. 208-216) on modern Islam. This final chapter is inadequate and cannot be called a climax to the encyclopedic sweep and detailed accuracy of the rest of the volume. Yet his succinct summary of the actual situation is significant:

> It is clear that there can no longer be any question of a Muslim community directed by a sovereign caliph, as at the time when it was a political and military power of the first order in the very small world of Europe and Western Asia. Scattered throughout regions which, except in India and the East Indies, have but meagre economic resources, the Muslim populations do not appear to be capable of forming a compact separate group of states. The religious unity which had brought about the institutional unity which is the subject of this little book has today lost its value: it is now only a facade, a slogan.

We call attention to a few errors. On page 10 the Muslim population of China is given as eight millions. It is at least eighteen; and the total world population of Muslims is not 250 but 315 million. On page 46 Ibn al Wahhab should be Ibn *Abd* al Wahhab. On page 185 (where we learn that such accuracy of time is required at Mecca that the muezzin of Zamzam requires a chronometer regulated at Greenwich), the author blunders about the Arabic days of the week, where four should be five and sixth should be seventh. But these are minor blemishes in a book altogether excellent.

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER

New York City

Etudes orientales a la memoire de Paul Hirschler. Éditeés par O. Komlós. Budapest, 1950. pp. vi, 144, 12.

Paul Hirschler was a Hungarian Jewish scholar whose activities came to an end, at an all too early age, in 1944, and as a memorial to him his friends have published the sixteen papers assembled in this little volume. Hirschler's scholarly activity was almost exclusively in the field of Jewish studies, and he wrote for the most part in Magyar, so that apart from his articles in the *Jüdisches Lexicon* his work is little known outside his own country.

As usual in such memorial volumes there is a sketch of his life—in this case at one end of the book in Magyar and at the other end in Hebrew—and the editor has put together a chronological list of his writings. Apart from these two contributions in Magyar there is one other article by Bernard Heller in that language, one other paper in

Hebrew, four in French and eight in English, and none in German, which is an extraordinary thing when one remembers how articles in German would have predominated in such a volume only a few years ago.

It is but natural that the papers should deal predominantly with subjects of Jewish interest. There are studies of the legal situation of Jews in the Byzantine Empire, on the curious episode when the Protestants of Hungary made an appeal for help to English Jewry, on the accusation against the Jews that they were haters of mankind, on the attitude of Josephus towards prayer. One paper is purely linguistic, dealing with a problem of sentence structure in Persian; another draws attention to a Hassidic MS. in the Bibliothèque nationale; and two are of Biblical interest. The three papers, however, which will be of interest to the readers of our QUARTERLY are, (1) Joseph Somogyi's discussion of the passages in ad-Damīrī's *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* which refer to chess and backgammon; (2) the editor's treatment of the Jonah legend, in which he brings in the Islamic legends about the Prophet Yūnus; and (3) Eli Strauss' paper on the social isolation of the Dhimmis.

That there is an abnormal number of printer's errors is probably due to the fact that the printer was most of the time setting type in an unfamiliar language. Otherwise the work has been well produced, and is a pleasant proof that in spite of serious handicaps Oriental studies are still being kept alive in Hungary.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Columbia University

Le Coran. Traduction par O. Pesle et Ahmed Tidjani. 2e édition. Paris, Éditions Larose, 1948. pp. xvi, 458.

Though this is dated in the Booksellers' Lists as Paris, 1950, the book itself bears the date of 1948 and is apparently a reissue of the second edition of a translation first published in a small edition in 1936. It is the fruit of the collaboration of an Algerian Muslim and a Frenchman. Octave Pesle is a Maître de Conférences at the Moroccan Institute for Hautes Études, and Aḥmad Tīdjānī is the chief interpreter to the "Direction des Affaires Chérifiennes," which means that besides his Muslim education he has had also a considerable French education.

The translation is unannotated—probably in deference to Muslim sentiment—but has at the end two Indices, one a "Dictionnaire juridique" which lists the chief passages which deal with matters of legal interest, such as Marriage, Divorce, Homicide, Adoption, Sale, Manumission, Arbitration, etc., etc., and the other a "Dictionnaire historique et géographique," which lists alphabetically all the person and place names in the Qur'ān, with brief notes of identification. In these it is interesting to note that Dhū'l-Kifl is identified with Elijah, and somewhat astonishing to be informed that the Thamūd were a people in the Yemen, that Arim was a river and Iram a people in Syria, that Ka'aba is the name of the Black Stone, Madyan the name of a well, Laika the name of a people, and ar-Raqīm a mountain near Smyrna.

The Introduction is by Octave Pesle. It contains none of the information one normally expects to find in an introduction, but is a

somewhat lyrical account of the excellence of the Qur'ān and the wondrous effect it makes on those who hear it. The translation is in fluent, idiomatic French prose, and keeps much more closely to the text than the better known versions of Kasimirski and Savary. It takes no account whatever of the results of recent scholarship in matters Quranic, but for the most part contents itself with rendering into French the traditional Muslim interpretation with which readers of al-Baiḍāwī's Commentary are well acquainted. The translation is not free, however, from interpretative smoothing over of things. Examples of this can be found from beginning to end of the book, but an instance or two from Sūra XII will serve as examples. There in v. 24, which reproduces the Rabbinic legend of Joseph being saved from sinning with his master's wife by seeing the form of his father at the window, our text reads: "had he not seen a manifestation of his Lord," but this translation renders it: "Lorsqu' il se rappela les enseignements de Dieu." Again in v. 26, which relates the legend of the infant bearing testimony to the chastity of Joseph, where our text reads: "then a witness from her household bore witness," this is rendered: "Un parent de la femme intervint alors en disant," a rendering which is defensible, but which effectually covers up the legendary element in the passage.

It is not clear what edition of the Arabic text was used for the translation. It is the ordinary Ḥafṣ text, but the verse numbering agrees with no edition in this reviewer's possession. It is not that of Flügel, nor of the usual Cairo or Constantinople texts, nor of the Warsh text often found in use in North Africa. Neither does its verse numbering agree consistently with any of the systems recorded in works of Quranic Masorah. Thus its Sūra II has 284 verses, not the usual 286, and Sūra III has 199 instead of the usual 200. Both 284 and 199 are recorded in the Masorah as Syrian verse numberings, but for Sūra IV where the Syrian numbering was 177 against the usual 176, this has 175. Its variations in this matter are throughout erratic, and the matter, though a small one, is mentioned here in the hope that maybe some reader will be able to recognize the edition of the text from which it was made.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Trekking Among Moroccan Tribes. By James Haldane. London, Pickering & Inglis, Ltd., 1948. pp. 198 and 13 illustrations. 15/.

In his book about Morocco, James Haldane has given us a picture of the various types of people that he met during his trekking through more than 1,000 rural villages. As a traveler he provides good descriptions of the country; but he goes beyond that and digs deep into the heart and mind of the Arab to reveal something of the psychology of the people.

Each chapter is a story centering in some village and emphasizing some particular aspect of the personality of the people. These experiences are frequently short conversations, which often reveal a battle of wits over a point of fatalistic theology, the fair price for a tent guard, or in avoiding drinking unboiled milk offered by a native. Most of these experiences were written on the scene and therefore are vivid and fresh.

James Haldane writes out of a background of thirty years of ex-

perience and a good knowledge of the Moroccan Arabic. His sense of humor and his storytelling art make the book very interesting. He has made it enjoyable and profitable for both the reader with little background and the reader with a more technical interest in the subject. He includes a large number of important proverbs, poems, idioms, and stories, out of the fathomless sea of Arab life. The author is very capable of seeing beyond the surface of the surroundings and is able to see history in a hut, philosophy in a pussy, and theology in a thicket.

The author does not draw very many conclusions from his experiences; but he writes in a style that leads the reader to form his own conclusions. For example after you have read a while you will begin to form obvious opinions such as: "The interest of these men certainly concerns food and women rather than flowers and beautiful sunsets." While he gives you the way the Arab mind appears to the Westerner, he also shows how the Westerner appears to the Moroccan in such native expressions as this: "Europeans are harnessed to a clock."

The author's chief purpose is missionary work. He tells throughout the book how he was able to distribute Scriptures among the many Moorish tribes. He describes the poor conditions of the people living in disease and ignorance and yet he can say: "These people do not ask for our pity, but they appreciate manifestations of enlightened understanding regarding their mode of life and religious beliefs. Therefore, to win them for Christ we must sit where they sit and speak their language."

ROBERT G. PEARSALL

Hartford, Conn.

Desert Calling. By Anne Fremantle. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1949. pp. ix, 364. $4.00.

This is a biography of Charles de Foucauld, born a French viscount, in his twenties an explorer of renown, then a Trappist recluse, and finally a martyred missionary in the heart of the Sahara. Since his death in 1916 at the hands of the Touaregs (Tawāriq) among whom he had lived for eleven years, de Foucauld has come to be revered by his countrymen in much the same patriotic-religious light as St. Joan of Arc. His name has become a rallying cry to the fighters of Existentialism, and it is possible that he will be beatified by the church he once forsook.

De Foucauld's school years were distinguished largely by self-indulgence and dissipation, but, after a short period of tempering as a lieutenant in Algeria, he made a daring trip of exploration through forbidden Morocco. Traveling disguised as an itinerant Rabbi, he collected data which won for him the Great Gold Medal of the Geographical Society of Paris.

Then at thirty, possessed of everything that makes for worldly success, the agnostic *bon vivant* amazed his family and friends by returning to the faith from which he had fallen away and entering the cloistered order of Trappists. Like Marmaduke Pickthall, the translator of the Qur'ān whose biography by Mrs. Fremantle was published in 1938, and R. V. C. Bodley, the Saharan traveler who gave up a projected life of de Foucauld when he learned that Mrs. Fremantle

was already writing one, de Foucauld was profoundly affected by the religion of the Muslims among whom he had lived. Unlike Pickthall and Bodley, the former of whom became a Muslim, and the latter of whom for a while outwardly practiced the faith of Muḥammad, de Foucauld would seem to have been only briefly attracted to Islam itself.

After a sojourn in a Trappist monastery in Syria, de Foucauld left the order to live even more austerely, humbly, and piously as a menial servant of a convent at Nazareth. Meanwhile, he was formulating the rules for an order of missionaries who would work among the Muslims. For these plans his superiors had little time, thinking the regimen too rigorous.

However, in 1901 de Foucauld was allowed to establish a mission at Beni Abbès (Banī 'Abbās?) in Algeria. A few years later he shifted his headquarters to Tamanrasset in the Sahara. Here he composed a dictionary and grammar of the language of the Tawāriq, collected their poems and proverbs, and sought to lead them to Christianity.

During these last sixteen years of his life, de Foucauld also ceaselessly functioned as an unofficial colonial officer of France. His advice was sought by a nearly constant stream of colonial administrators, military commanders, and scholars. Much of his voluminous correspondence (he often wrote as many as thirty letters a day) concerned purely political topics. For, to de Foucauld, the Glory of France and the Glory of God were practically synonymous.

Had de Foucauld followed the position taken a few years later by Pope Pius XI to the effect that, "the missionary should belong to no country, have no politics" (page 218), one cannot help but wonder if he would not have avoided assassination, an end, it must be admitted, for which he prayed.

Little has been written before in English about this Lawrence of the Sahara, who also had his Burton and Doughty-like moments. Yet, subscribers to *The Moslem World* in April 1928 may remember the excellent article in it by Sonia Howe, "Charles de Foucauld, Explorer of Morroco and Knight Errant of Christ."

Petty and, no doubt to the specialist, exasperating errors about Islam mar *Desert Calling*. On the other hand, in the words of E. Forsyth reviewing it for *The Royal Central Asian Journal* (July-Oct., 1950), "A book about de Foucauld could not be anything but interesting."

William E. Mulligan

Hartford, Conn. and Saudi Arabia

The Sanusi of Cyrenaica. By E. E. Evans-Pritchard. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1949. pp. viii, 240. American price $6.50.

There must be many readers of our Quarterly who can remember the "John Solomon" stories written by Allan Hawkwood and published by Hurst and Blackett of Paternoster House in the early 1920s, in which the wily and doughty little Cockney, John Solomon, from his lair in the chandler's shop in Port Said wages war against the nefarious schemes of the dreaded Sanusi in North Africa who plan for world conquest. Many more readers will be aware of the importance this Sanusi name appeared to have at a certain stage of the recent struggle against the German and Italian forces in Cyrenaica.

It was the War which drew Evans-Pritchard from his Chair of Social Anthropology at Oxford to political duties in the Near Eastern area, and finally enabled him, when posted as Political Officer to the British Military Administration of Cyrenaica in 1942, to travel considerably in the country of the Sanusi, meet many leaders of the fraternity, and in particular to come into close contact with the Bedouin tribesmen who make up the great body of members of the Order. On his return to Oxford he could then read the relevant literature in Arabic, French and Italian, in the light of his first-hand acquaintance with the country and the people, and this book is the result.

The Sanusi are properly one of the numerous Dervish Orders, those fraternities of Islam connected with the Ṣūfī movement. They are unique, however, in that partly by reason of the personality of their founder, and partly by force of circumstances, they developed from a fraternity into a political organization, which lived on uneasy terms with the Turks, fought against the French and at times against the British, and for twenty years put up a wonderful fight against the Italians. They were by no means confined to Cyrenaica. For a time the Order was strong in the Hijaz. It had a great many members in various parts of Egypt, and was for long a potent force in the Sudan, especially in French Sudan. This book tells the story of the founder of the Order, sketches briefly the tale of its expansion, but is interested particularly in its organization in Cyrenaica and the struggle it maintained there against Italian determination to dominate and colonize the country, from the Italo-Turkish war of 1911 till the Italians were driven out of North Africa in the late war.

Since the Bedouin were the heart of the resistance to the Italians, and since the author is a Social Anthropologist, who has written on other native groups in Africa, he devotes a long chapter to these Bedouin of Cyrenaica, their tribal connections and distribution, their way of life, and their relation to the Sanusi Order. To many readers this will be the most interesting chapter in the book. The body of the book, however, is devoted to a detailed account of the part these Bedouin played first in the Italo-Turkish war, and then in the two Italo-Libyan wars of 1914-17 and 1923-32. The author expresses some admiration for the grandeur of the Turkish Empire as he saw traces of it in the Near East, but his account of the Turkish administration of North Africa before the first World War is a sad story of slackness, indifference and inefficiency. The Turks, however, were Muslims, so the Bedouin could endure them. The Italians they could not endure. It is easy for a modern writer to speak indignantly about the Italians coming in as robbers to take from the Bedouin their lands and their homes, forgetting that the reason there are Arabic speaking Bedouin in that area is because during the days of Muslim expansion they came into Cyrenaica and Tripolitania as robbers to take the lands and homes of the inhabitants they found there in those days. Italian books often stress the idea that Italy was but taking back her rightful heritage since this area was once ruled by Rome. Modern Italians, however, are very different people from the ancient Romans, and though this book confines itself to a bare recital of facts, the story that recital reveals of greed and false dealing, of vaunting boastfulness and wellnigh incredible incompetence, is perhaps unique in modern history.

The story of the book ends too abruptly. We learn the story of the spread of the Order in Cyrenaica, read how the Italians took its lands, systematically destroyed its zawias, removed its leaders, and endeavoured to exterminate its most loyal supporters, but the story breaks off abruptly with the expulsion of the Italians and the return of the Sayyid Idris in 1943, without giving us any information about what has been happening since the leader of the Sanusi returned in triumph to take over the leadership of the Order founded by his grandfather. Is the political nature of the Order to continue, or will it now revert back to the fraternity status with which it began? Are the zawias being rebuilt, and the community organization restored? Are the members of the founder's family taking again their old place in the society of the country, or has a new day brought new blood to leadership? Will the old tribal life of the Bedouin continue possible in the very different world of today, or were the Italians right in judging that it was an anachronism in the modern world? Ten years have passed since 1940, and as this book appeared in 1949 it might have been possible to include at least some account of what has been happening in Cyrenaica since the expulsion of the Italians.

The book is supplied with a number of sketch maps which are a great aid to the reader who is not particularly familiar with that area, and in an Appendix there is a list of the place-names which occur in the book, with the spelling of the same names as they are usually given in Italian books and periodicals. The printing and production of the book are of the excellence one has grown to expect from the Oxford University Press.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Islamic Society and the West: A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East. By H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen. Volume I, Islamic Society in the Eighteenth Century, Part I. London and New York, Oxford University Press (Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs), 1950. pp. xi, 386. $4.50.

Some years ago the authors set out to study the impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East—a project of considerable interest to all students of cross-cultural research. Early in the course of their investigations, they became aware that among the many thousands of available documents, there existed no adequate account of the state of Muslim society and societal institutions before the opening of the nineteenth century.

The present volume is the first part of an attempt to meet this deficiency. The second part dealing chiefly with the religious and cultural institutions will follow before long.

Drawing their materials not only from sources conveniently available in the more popular European languages, but also from a considerable number of original Turkish and Arabic published documents, supplemented by data derived from personal contacts, the authors present in this volume a socio-historical study of the nature and evolution of political and economic institutions of pre-nineteenth century Muslim culture in the Eastern Mediterranean region. To do this was not easy, for the field is vast and the state of socio-historical research in this field is backward to say the least.

Fully aware of such limitations, the authors deliberately confined

themselves as closely as possible to making a plain factual survey. They succeeded in resisting the temptation to shift the discussion to a philosophical level. And for this, they deserve the gratitude of all serious historians and sociologists.

The rise and fall of the political institutions receive the most thorough and painstaking treatment. The authors ably reveal that by the eighteenth century, this set of institutions "had undergone as complete a transformation as was compatible with the maintenance of most of its original forms." It was no longer manned almost exclusively by slave converts but rather by free Muslims. Corruption had come to replace virtue as a means to earn merit. "Finally, instead of providing the Sultans with an efficient instrument for the preservation and extension of their power, it was now scarcely strong enough to maintain their authority at home, and had become an engine of feeble tyranny over those of their subjects that were unable to combine against it."

Certain other sections, notably those dealing with The Peasantry and the Structure of the City are inadequate from the viewpoints of both sociological theory and research. Also, the work is so overcrowded with detailed facts that it tends to be overwhelming. The large mass of data do not readily lead to the tracing of continuity, themes, and major emphases.

These shortcomings, however, are not very serious. They do not undermine the very acceptable contribution the authors have started to make to the field of cross-cultural studies with the Near East as their locale.

CHARLES G. CHAKERIAN

The Hartford Seminary Foundation

The Struggle for Palestine. By J. C. Hurewitz. New York, W. W. Norton and Company, 1950. pp. 404.

This is not just another book on Palestine. If proof were needed it would be in the Notes and Bibliography alone, covering the last seventy pages in company with as full an index as anyone could wish. Dr. Hurewitz is justified in forsaking his service in the State Department for this work. For anyone who has lived in Jerusalem before or since the Mandate, especially during the tense decade, there is opportunity to relive the days in the perusal of these chapters. This does not mean that the researches produce ecstasy or enthusiasm (the whole story is too sorry)—but that it soon becomes evident that the author set out to write matters of fact that he was able either to know (some of them at first hand) or ascertain. These, however, have their origin chiefly in documents as distinct from individuals. We do have one regret and perhaps one criticism. The opinion of the international group of missionaries seems hardly to have been canvassed—but why blame a sincere writer (who probably knows that missionaries are not supposed to dabble in politics), when this was the experience of most of the missionary world (a world that lived closer to ordinary people, Jew and Arab) through the procession of Commissions, including the Anglo-American and the United Nations, the latter of whom were no more international and apparently less united than the various Christian bodies on this theme, divided as the latter were

over other issues? Hence we are glad to know that the MS. was read by men who know the Near East and rightly encouraged the author to proceed. The historian of this extra-troubled period of Palestine's "Thirty Years' War," will choose to rely on this volume as constituting authority. Our single criticism in this respect is in finding overmuch reliance on the American Christian Palestine Committee.

The author plunges into the "shape" of the Palestine Problem as it emerged in 1936, the year before he met it in person,—a problem that had been shaping itself very differently from the expectation of most of the inhabitants ever since November 1914. This was when Turkey was ranged with Germany. As we read on, we are reminded of the *obiter dictum* of one of the two British women who remained in Jerusalem all through the First World War. News of the Balfour Declaration had filtered through in November 1917, while Allenby followed a month later. But Miss Lovell must have realized something portending even then; for when asked if she was not glad that the British would soon be coming, was negative in her answer:—"They don't know what they are in for; and I do." "The Mandate for Palestine," says the scholar years later, "was framed unmistakeably in the Zionist interest" (18). "The Arabs formed an overwhelming majority of the population of Palestine" (19). Yet they were never mentioned as such in the Covenant of the League of Nations. There are whole paragraphs in this section we should like to quote (pages 24, 25 in particular, where Dr. Hurewitz' conclusions would be supported by many who knew Palestine from 1923 onwards). In the two ensuing chapters (as all through) the statistics are worthwhile, not just dreary; and when he comes to the political structure of the two communities, there will be thanks on the part of those who try to help others to understand the conditions obtaining in domestic politics "under the Mandate." There is one trenchant statement on page 37, which bears out what many missionaries said in the early twenties, that "the language barrier itself discouraged social intercourse and intensified the introversion of the Arabs and the Jews." We have had friends, who in spite of three official languages, had to converse in German. On the Arab side we would beg to add the importance of Nablus in the development of the national movement some time before the thirties (58). We have the impression however that Dr. Hurewitz does not place as much weight as other writers (and members of Commissions) on the importance of the Grand Mufti, whose influence with many ordinary people was due not so much to his ancestry as to the office he held. Through one of those ironies of history the other candidate for the Jerusalem Muftiship at the beginning of the civil administration now holds a position of great importance in the Hashimite Kingdom of the Jordan.

The second main section of the book deals with the advent of the commissions consequent on the Arab Revolt and Strike—perhaps the longest strike on record and the second revolt, for the first had been against Turkey. The "White Paper" with all its implications is considered. The early months of the Second War are described, while at the other end of the Zionist line the reader will be thankful for the succinct account of the Biltmore Programme. We are glad of the references to Kalvaryski (the reviewer was one of a group, who on a pouring wet night in Jerusalem, greeted his seventieth birthday); and

Magnes, the "guiding light" of the Union Association (161-3). Magnes goes down in the chequered history of Palestine as one more of the disappointed idealists, who went on trying.

But all around, as the years dragged on, nerves were growing more frayed, feelings were more embittered, disillusionment or frustration seemed in the ascendant. This story is faithfully recorded. "There was no law," says our author (223), a phrase curiously reminiscent of an older one:—"In those days there was no king in Israel; every man did that which was right in his own eyes." And so it was again.

We must forbear the criticism of individuals; readers will do that naturally as they pursue the tale through the changes in British policy (not the first), the Anglo-American Enquiry, the Partition suggestions, the handing over of authority to the United Nations,—and the new alignments. There is one small misprint as the book draws to a close—for surely "damned" should be "dammed," though both spellings might be true for different people! The aftermath is not over; for the author's last sentence should be read, and then the whole of section 3 as leading up to it. Once again we are grateful for the dispassionate effort that Dr. Hurewitz has made; and now to give vent to the main grievance against the book, its price this side of the Atlantic! Is something being done about this? It is enough for good books to open; they need not necessarily be bound.

ERIC F. F. BISHOP

The University, Glasgow

Tales From The Arab Tribes. By C. G. Campbell. New York, Macmillan, 1951. pp. 252. $2.50.

This is a variegated collection of folk lore told by tribal men to the author when he spent some years in southern Iraq. It consists of tales the people love to tell about themselves and reveals their ideas better than many pages of description.

The author has preserved the very words and idioms of the story tellers, artistically giving their natural flavor until one can almost feel the desert, the sun and the night sky. The tales resemble those of *The Arabian Nights* yet have many modern touches and additions. Many of them are romances with the Muslim characteristic that the girl's face is not supposed to be seen. The tales of adventure, deception, loss and finding of worldly goods are well told and show how magic and luck play a large part in the aspirations of the people. The humor is broad and earthy and is expressed in a quaint and whimsical style which reminds one of Chaucer's stories.

The book can be recommended to all who love good short stories and especially to those interested in and wishing to understand the Near East. As the author says in the preface, it is the gathering and preserving of a mode of life that is disappearing as the Near East is changing so rapidly. The old Arab art of story telling is being forgotten as the radio, newspapers, cars and modern ways of living crowd out the ancient heritage—even in the humble huts. We are indebted to the author for his patient study of a difficult language which must have preceded his ability to listen and record these interesting stories.

MARY B. ALLISON

New York City and Kuwait, Arabia

Afghanistan: A Study of Political Developments in Central Asia. By W. K. Fraser-Tytler. New York, Oxford University Press, 1950. pp. 330. $5.00.

While there has been a plethora of books about various countries of the Middle East since the end of the war, Afghanistan has remained an exception. In spite of the efforts of the Morris-Knudsen Company and others to open the Central Asian nation to the outer world, Afghanistan still justifies the appellation "the hermit kingdom," once applied to her by a British author.

The book by Sir Fraser-Tytler is concerned with the history of British policy vis-à-vis the frontier tribes, Afghanistan, and Russia in Central Asia, rather than with the political, economic, and social organization of the country named in the title. Though we have a number of general up-to-date books on Iran a survey of modern Afghanistan is still greatly needed. On the whole, the book under review is not well organized; nor is it of equal worth throughout. It is divided into three parts: "The Country of the Hindu Kush"—which contains a description of physical features and a history of the Hindu Kush region to the foundation of the Afghan state in 1747; "The Kingdom of Afghanistan"—which carries the history down to the present; and "The Past and the Future"—which is a defense of British rule in India and an attempt to explain Afghan and Indian history on the basis of environment, especially climate. Interspersed throughout are interesting, though sometimes disconcerting, digressions on the tribes. Thus, in scope, the book is quite ambitious, ranging from valuable personal experiences to meditations on Central Asian and Indian history *à la* Toynbee.

That the author is well-qualified to write about Afghanistan is amply attested by the biographical notes in the preface and throughout the book. He served for many years as an officer in the Indian army on the Northwest frontier, and after World War I was active in the British Legation in Kabul. In 1941 he left Afghanistan after having occupied the post of British Minister at the court of Zahir Shah. He left behind him a warm feeling in the hearts of the Afghans and his diplomatic associates, as can be well attested by the reviewer who heard only praise of him in Kabul a year later.

It is to be regretted that the author chose to spend so much of his space in discussing the long history of Afghanistan—adding little to the work of predecessors—rather than concentrating on the years 1921-1941, wherein he could have elucidated much of which he himself was a witness. Nonetheless the section concerned with the post World War I period is the most interesting and valuable part of the book, though the author's observations on British policy in Central Asia to 1921 are also significant.

I have noted a number of questionable statements in Part I of the book, which—though some may seem pedantic—are nevertheless disquieting enough to detract from the value of this section. I shall not bother the reader with any of them for they are incidental to the main concern of the work.

The author describes in clear, straightforward language the rise of the Afghan kingdom of Ahmad Shah Baba, as he is affectionately known today. Unpublished correspondence of the East India Company is utilized to give an excellent account of events leading to the First Afghan War of 1838-1842. Especially interesting are the pages

describing the Persian attack on Herat in 1837-8, and the machinations of Russian agents in Tehran, which are given their proper place in the series of actions leading to the Afghan war. Fraser-Tytler leaves no doubt in the reader's mind that the British erred greatly in supporting Ranjit Singh against the Afghans and in deciding to depose Dost Muhammad, for which blunders they paid dearly. Indeed, throughout the book the author analyzes British policy in Central Asia quite critically, without defending it, and, for the most part, he praises Afghan policy. He pays high tribute to the Afghans and especially to the qualities of their rulers.

The book contains an important discussion of the conflicting policies of the British, between the advocates of a "forward policy"—the more extreme of whom argued for the annexation of Afghanistan, and those who favored a hands-off policy—leaving Afghanistan as a vacuum between Tsarist Russia and British India. Many interesting incidents, such as the Russian conquest of Merv and the conflict with the Afghans at Panjdeh, are illuminated in the book. The author's account of the background and creation of the Durand Line, between Afghanistan and India through tribal territory, helps to explain the trouble between Afghanistan and Pakistan today, and the problem of "Pushtunistan."

The story of the revolt against Amanullah in the 1920s, and the re-establishment of order by Nadir Shah, is excellent though brief. The author has nothing but the strongest praise for the able prime minister from 1929-1946, Hashim Khan. It is true he did much for his country, but wonders if his ultra conservatism, and at times unnecessary severity, did not do harm to the advancement of his people. There is still too much nepotism—the high positions of government are occupied by members of the Shah's extended family, whether they are competent or not—to feel happy about the political future of Afghanistan in a troubled Orient. A benevolent patriarchal rule is hardly adequate in the last half of the twentieth century, even in Afghanistan.

Although one may disagree with many conclusions of this book, it can be recommended as a valuable addition to the scanty literature on Afghanistan.

RICHARD N. FRYE

Harvard University

Pakistan, The Fatherland of the Pak Nation. (Pakasia Literature Series No. 1) By Choudhary Rahmat Ali. Third Edition. Cambridge, The Pakistan National Liberation Movement, 1947. pp. 376.

The first two editions of this book were issued in 1935 and 1939 respectively, before Pakistan came into being. The original purpose of the book was to provide material for the workers of the Pakistan National Movement as they sought to establish and spread the doctrine of Pakistan. The author is the founder and present leader of this Movement, now called the Pakistan National Liberation Movement.

The book is significant because of the influence it seems to have had in shaping and determining some of the emphases and demands of the movement for creation of a separate Muslim state on the Indian sub-continent. Mr. C. Rahmat Ali's basic proposition—that Northwest India and Bengal, where Muslims were in a majority, should be-

come independent Muslim states—was, essentially, the plan adopted by Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah and the All-India Muslim League in their demand for Pakistan. The name, *Pakistan,* was apparently first coined by the author of this work and he explains that *Pakistan* is a composite word formed from the initial letters of the provinces to be included in Pakistan *and* the neighboring Muslim nations with whom, it was felt, Pakistan shared a common history and culture. These provinces and nations were: *P*anjab, *A*fghania (the Northwest Frontier Province), *K*ashmir, *I*ran, *S*indh, *T*ukharistan, *A*fghanistan and Baluchista*n*.

The purpose of this third edition is not only to preserve the origin and history of the Pakistan National Liberation Movement in permanent form, but also to make an appeal. The author feels keenly that the acceptance, on the part of Mr. Jinnah and the All-India Muslim League, of a truncated Pakistan was a betrayal of the Muslims of India. Thus, the final chapter, added after August 15, 1947, consists of a bitter criticism of Mr. Jinnah's acceptance of the British plan of June 3, 1947, and an eloquent appeal to Pakistani and Indian Muslims to continue the struggle for full realization of the original Pak Plan.

Mr. C. Rahmat Ali's appeal to prehistoric geological evidence to establish the existence of Pakistan as "a physical unit which is independent of, distinct from 'India' " seems fantastic, as does his proposal for the creation of not one, but ten Muslim nations in India. Nonetheless, the book will prove valuable to those interested in a study of Pakistan and its origins.

F. Wilcox

Hartford, Conn.

The Population of India and Pakistan. By Kingsley Davis. Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press, 1951. pp. 263. $7.50.

The Census of India is a remarkable achievement. Of the many areas that share the same acute problems as do India and Pakistan, no other has a body of statistical information approaching the value of this decennial compilation. It is regrettable that this, probably the best single source on the society of the subcontinent and on the problems of comparable populations, has been so much neglected. Mr. Davis' book is a sign of a new interest in what the Census of India may reveal and it is hoped a stimulus to further investigation. It makes a basic contribution to the understanding not only of India and Pakistan, but also of many much broader problems.

This is primarily a demographic study, and seems to be based on careful statistical analysis. Yet it is written in such a way as to make its results accessible to scholars in many other fields. Moreover, the scope of the subject is conceived broadly, so that it has much to contribute in many fields. Those sections dealing with the Muslim community will be of the greatest interest to readers of this journal. These include chapters on "Religion" and "Population and Partition" as well as many incidental references throughout.

Though it is a large work—there are 263 large double column pages—the scope of the work is such that it necessarily suffers from over-generalization in many places. The cartograms are mostly based on district figures, though in a few areas some are badly misleading,

as when (p. 182) the enclave of Patiala south-west of Delhi is shown as an isolated area of Sikh majority when actually 5 per cent would seem to be a high estimate. The same difficulty leads to the implication that there are no considerable areas of Muslim majority within the present Indian Union exclusive of Kashmir. Actually there are some areas of the size of districts not discernible because they do not coincide with districts. A second source of misleading statements is the use of over-all averages for some characteristics of wide variability. An example is the brief discussion of urban concentration of the Muslim community on page 193. If the Muslim population in the towns is compared with that in the surrounding rural areas it will be found that in most of India the urban concentration is much higher than suggested, and that there are very marked differences between East and West Pakistan in this regard. Moreover there are within India significant areas in which the Muslim population is dominantly rural. These differences reflect even more deep-seated differences in the origin and character of the populations concerned, and thus vitiate, pretty largely, conclusions drawn from the general statistics.

However valid such criticisms may be, they remain not so much criticism of what Mr. Davis has done as of what he has not done. We stand in his great debt for a careful investigation of the demography of India from this approach. He could not have done what is so much needed to supplement his findings, namely similar thorough demographic investigation on a regional basis. Let us hope that this may yet be undertaken, at least in certain type regions, by demographers of Mr. Davis' high caliber.

H. A. Gleason, Jr.

Hartford, Conn.

The Malays, A Cultural History. By Sir Richard Winstedt. New York, The Philosophical Library, Inc., 1950. pp. 190.

The prolific pen of Sir Richard Winstedt has produced another book which will provide the Western reader with a greater understanding of the Malay people. At present the focal point of world interest in the Far East with Malaya as an area of no mean importance. The course that Malaya may follow depends to a large extent upon the forces of the past. Dr. Winstedt acknowledges the fact that some of his subjects are not extensively considered; but enough material is provided to create a general picture out of the complexity of Malaya. His presentation has a minimum of detail and yet a picturesque manner. The book traces the history of Malay culture with its numerous ramifications from the primitive stages through the changes imposed by other cultures, up to the present age. A brief discussion of the anthropological development, the effects of migration and the language families pave the way for an enlargement of other cultural aspects.

The religious stratification is peeled off by layers to reveal the bare religious mind and practice of the people. The social, political, and legal systems are considered separately. Like other aspects of the culture in question, these systems are revealed as having been intricate even in the earliest and purest indigenous groups. The patriarchal and matriarchal societies are set forth with all their implications. There is further discussion concerning the transformations

which these systems underwent as a result of Hindu, Islamic, and Western influences. The economic lag on the part of the Malays has been the subject of much speculation in the Western world. The author is quite clear and concise in his explanation of the subject. The Chinese monopolies are considered and a fair evaluation is made of the benefits and disservices the British have contributed to the Malay economic system. The character of the literature and the development of arts and crafts are explored.

In dealing with the future of Malaya Dr. Winstedt presents plausible speculations concerning the development of the political and economic systems. Education, specialization, and nationalism are regarded as pertinent factors in bringing the Malays abreast of the modern world.

There are two Appendices; one deals with the Malay text of passages used throughout the book, and the other is an expansion of relationships in Negri Sembilan.

RUTH E. FANJOY

Hartford, Conn.

Kahlil Gibran. A Biography. By Mikhail Naimy. With a preface by Martin L. Wolf. New York, Philosophical Library, 1950. pp. 267. $3.75.

A Treasury of Kahlil Gibran. Edited by Martin L. Wolf; Translated from the Arabic by Anthony Rizcallah Ferris. New York, Citadel Press, 1951. pp. 417. $3.95.

Mikhail Naimy, who is a leading figure of the East, has written a very dramatic and frank account of the life of his friend Kahlil Gibran. Here through his eyes we see Gibran the philosopher, poet and artist.

He was born in Bisherri, Lebanon, December 6, 1883 and came to Boston at the age of twelve with his mother, brother and two sisters. Seven years later he lost all but one sister of tuberculosis. For four years he worked at his art, bitter over life, writing at the same time, while his sister strained her eyes over her needle. Success and failure soon followed. He had written *Prairie Nymph,* a tirade against marriage customs, and *Spirits Rebellious,* which was instrumental in his excommunication and exile from his country. He had a few paintings ready but could find no exhibitor until a photographer friend offered his studio. It was here that Mary Haskell asked for an interpretation of The Soul's Return to God, painted at the time of his sister's death, and from that time on became his greatest help and inspiration, encouraging him to go to Paris for further study. He was in Paris between the years of 1908-1912, under the influence of Rodin, and returned to New York with a small sum of money in his pocket, the manuscript of *Broken Wings* in his bag, and a copy of Nietzsche's *Thus Spake Zarathustra* under his arm. He rented a small one room studio: a hermitage which spoke eloquently of his poverty. In 1918 he published his first book in English, *The Madman,* which was followed in 1923 by *The Prophet*—a very popular book which was translated into many languages. He next was inspired to write about Jesus and sat up many nights writing, while his disease kept increasing. He was able to publish *Jesus the Son of Man* in 1928. Fortune now began to smile upon him but not for long. His illness became more serious. He tried all remedies, even deciding upon an operation but changed his mind. He never told his friends the nature of his illness, and died

April 6, 1931 in a hospital with Naimy at his bedside. He was buried in the monastery of Mar-Sarkees in Lebanon where hundreds of people of all denominations gathered to pay him homage.

THE TREASURY OF KAHLIL GIBRAN is a monumental volume of poetry and prose originally written in Arabic, consisting of nine books some of which were in *Secrets of the Heart, Tears and Laughter* and *Spirits Rebellious,* and others still unpublished. This is the best of Kahlil Gibran beautifully translated and shows his profound philosophy of life and his mystic symbolism and conveys both to the reader quickly and clearly.

The book begins with *The Poet's Voice* saying: "What I say now with my heart will be said tomorrow by many hearts," and ends with *A Poet's Death:* "He was a poet perishing from hunger in the city of living rich; he was placed in the world to enliven the heart of man with his beautiful sayings." Martin L. Wolf ends his introduction with: "In the present pursuit of higher learning in Arabic writings no author of the East offers greater reward than does Kahlil Gibran, for he stands alone on the summit of all that is beautiful in Sufi literature."

ELIZABETH DE W. ROOT

Hartford, Conn.

The Metaphysics of Rumi. By Dr. Khalifa Abdul Hakim. Lahore, Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1949. pp. vii, 183. Rs. 3/12.

Rumi, Poet and Mystic, 1207-1273. Edited by Reynold A. Nicholson. London, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1950, pp. 190, $2.00.

Jalalu'l-Dim Rumi has long been recognized as the greatest mystical poet of Persia, and some of his poetry has been in English translation for a number of years. But Rumi's manner of exposition is such that it is difficult to understand and appreciate the full depth and significance of his work. His literary output was so extensive and his style of such a rambling nature that only the most persistent student is able to follow the full range of his thought. Each of these two books is designed in its own way to gather together some of the highest insights of the poet and make them more readily available for the study and inspiration of the average reader.

Dr. Khalifa Abdul Hakim has attempted to summarize the basic metaphysical concepts of the poet. He has gleaned from Rumi's poetry those ideas which pertain to the most important and central problem of his world of thought, the problem of Personality, divine and human. Included also are related problems like the nature of the soul, the freedom of will, immortality and the relation of the human to the divine. In this study brief historical references are made to the origin of each problem and its development before Rumi. Thus this investigation is not only helpful for the study of Rumi in particular, but of Sufism in general. Footnotes and a Bibliography add to the usefulness of the volume.

The second book is the first to appear in a series of "Ethical and Religious Classics of the East and West." It contains 119 passages which have been selected from the various writings of Rumi. These selections give vivid expression to the profound insight and spiritual inspiration that mark the highest level of Persian mysticism. The splendid translation has been done by the late Professor Nicholson, who has added further insight into the Sufi doctrine and experience

by his Introduction and explanatory notes. Professor Nicholson was not able to finish the Introduction, but it was completed by Professor A. J. Arberry. This attractive volume can greatly help the English reader to enrich his experience by apprehending the mystic intuition of this great Persian poet.

DAVID T. LINDELL

Hartford, Conn.

Openbaring en Rede in de Islamietische Filosofie van al-Farabi tot Ibn Rushd. By D. C. Mulder. Amsterdam, Vrije Universiteit, 1949. pp. 184.

This book, which secured for the author a doctorate at the "Vrije Universiteit" (of the "Gereformeerde Kerk," founded by Abraham Kuyper), Amsterdam, deals with the cardinal question of the relation between Revelation and Reason in Islam; a question which has assumed a new actuality by the impact of western civilization. As the title indicates, it directs its attention to the form this relation has acquired in Islamic philosophy, i.e., the thinking of the "falasifa." Thus it covers a period of three centuries which have been of great importance in the history of this question. This being the proper subject of his study, the author thinks it indispensable to introduce it with two chapters on the history preceding this period.

Chapter one, treating the subject as involved in the Qur'ān, states the absence in this Holy Book of an explicit speaking about the relation to reason. The Qur'ān has a religious, not a philosophical, character. On the other hand it has to be admitted that this Book with its legalistic conception of God *tends toward* voluntarism, whereas the *form* of revelation after the conception of the Qur'ān has an intellectualistic tinge. Both voluntarism and intellectualism are branches of the tree of rationalism. Thus the Qur'ān itself bears *in nuce* the tensions which would arise later on.

Chapter two characterizes the reply given by Mu'tazilīs and Mutakallimūn as "synthetic," in the first case bearing an intellectualistic, in the second case a voluntaristic, stamp. Both solutions intending to think out a revelational theology represent a harmonization of Revelation and Reason.

In the third chapter we enter the proper subject of the book. Analysis of the older falāsifa demonstrates that al-Fārābī's metaphysics are built on the foundation of reason only. Taking his stand against Horten the author argues that Ibn Miskawaih's rational theology doesn't give treason the place of "ancilla theologicae," but reversely builds revelation into the frame of rational philosophy. With Ibn Sīnā, who deepens and refines al-Fārābī's system, the gulf between philosophy and revelation becomes more and more clear.

Al-Ghazālī, expounded in the fourth chapter, indeed rejects the intellectualism of the philosophers as being incompatible with divine revelation, but he is not able to hit the very core of the matter because he himself gets stuck in voluntarism which absolutizes another function of human life. His mysticism is an escape from, not a solution of, the problem.

After a critical exposition of Ibn Ṭufail's ideas on the question we reach the last and most important chapter on Ibn Rushd. Dr. Mulder rejects totally Horten's idea that Ibn Rushd should have accepted the existence of supranatural mysteries. Neither is Gauthier right in call-

ing Ibn Rushd an absolute rationalist so far as he acts as a philosopher. Over against these scholars the author argues that as a philosopher Ibn Rushd is a synthetic thinker. That explains the inner contradictions he discovers in Ibn Rushd's thinking.

In the conclusion, Dr. Mulder wonders whether there is an explanation of the typically synthetic character of Muslim thought. He thinks the explanation lies in the "non-radical" character of Islam given with its legalism. Only a radical insight into the significance of religion for every human function, for its rational function also, can liberate the conception of revelation in its relation to reason from rationalism. But this insight is the enemy of legalism.

The significance of Dr. Mulder's book lies in two merits. In the first place he has the capacity of subtle and minute analysis especially visible in the chapter on Ibn Rushd. A second merit of great importance exists in his attempt to come to grips with the enigmatically refractory character of Islam in analyzing a cardinal question and pursuing its track into its birth-period. He doesn't content himself with one of those quasi-objective solutions still too familiar in history of religion, but he dares to refer to the dimension of faith which by its radical character can only give the answer which neither Islam itself nor merely scientific analysis can give. Thus his study is an example of that approach to Islam which is both scientifically and religiously justified.

It seems to me that two essential objections against this study might be made. In the first place the whole conception of his book is more or less hybrid. One has to wonder whether the main theme, the correlation of Revelation and Reason, has not been too much moulded according to the example of Christian theology and whether it is possible and admissible to transplant this theme to the sphere of Islam without comment. The author's own definition of Revelation in Islam as "originally the revelation of Allah in the Qur'ān respectively in the Sunna of the Prophet" already betrays a deep-rooted difference between the biblical and the Muslim conception of Revelation. Revelation in Islam is in the first instance a source of the "Fiqh" and even this function the Qur'ān has to share with other derived sources as Sunna, Ijmā', and Qiyās. It is not unjust to say that in fact Revelation in Islam has grown more or less identical with the whole traditional life and law-system as involved in the Sharī'at. In being sufficiently alive to this radical difference the author continually tends to construct his subject into an alien, Christian frame.

Moreover—and this is my second objection—it must be doubted whether this Christian frame does not bear a pseudo-Christian stamp. The author's standpoint is the idea of an "integral Christian philosophy." This philosophy, however, suffers probably from a likewise "synthetic" defect which the author objects to in Islamic philosophy as being its *vitium originis*.

A clear summary in English has been added so that those readers who do not understand Dutch can get a glimpse at least of this interesting and penetrating work on a cardinal question. The whole study should have been written in English.

A. Th. van Leeuwen

Leiden, Holland

CURRENT TOPICS

Pakistan and U.S.A.

This article is reprinted by special permission of author and editor from the March 1951 issue of *International House News,* Philadelphia, Penna.

"(The author of the following article is a graduate student and Teaching Fellow in the Division of Southwest Asia Studies, at the University of Pennsylvania. He has previously studied in several American Universities and hopes to complete his Ph.D. work before returning to his native country, Pakistan. He is greatly interested in the problem of young people in Pakistan and is currently publishing a magazine on teaching methods, which is now widely distributed throughout his land. It can safely be predicted that in the future his influence will be felt in shaping the policies and attitudes of the new country of Pakistan.—Ed. Note.)

"Americans are a great people. They are known to us, the people of Pakistan, as educators and as men and women engaged in missions of peace. I know them also for their hospitality, friendliness, and enterprise. But there is at least one thing I find true of Americans that is unfortunate for us foreigners, especially the Asians: they rely too much upon the wrong and unhealthy sources of information about other lands. By this I mean Hollywood, *Life* and *Time* magazines, and books published outside the countries concerned.

"Pakistan, next to China, the U.S.S.R., India, and the U.S.A. is the world's fifth largest nation, having a population of 80 million, and is the first Moslem state, but an average American seems to have no knowledge of its existence.

"Islam, the religion of most Pakistanis, is closely akin to Judaism and Christianity, and has more than 350 million followers. These include all races, nationalities, tongues, colors, and all stages of culture. Yet, thanks to dollar-happy Hollywood gods and to narrow-minded and prejudiced publications, a Moslem to an American means no more than a rude, fanatic, anti-western polygamist.

"In regard to the separation of Pakistan from India, very few Americans know or realize that a vast majority of Pakistan's present citizens actually voted for it prior to her establishment in August, 1947.

"May I add here, a few strictly personal remarks. In my opinion, Americans generally think too much of themselves. They have all the world's literature right in their own country, but very few of them ever bother with it. Many languages other than English are interesting, simple, easy to learn, and useful in understanding the various peoples of Asia and Africa, yet so very few Americans study or are familiar with them. Every nation has its own festivals and holidays when greetings or gifts are exchanged, but who in America ever sent an Eid Card to a Moslem friend, or a Divali card to a Hindu acquaintance? And who ever wishes to find out how close the Holy Koran, the Moslem Bible, is to the Old Testament, and who wishes to study the literature of any nation—'if no semester credit is given for it?' "

ABDUL BASIT NAEEM

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Sue Molleson Foster
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I. GENERAL

Broadcasting to the Arab World. Nevill Barbour. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Winter, 1951. pp. 57-69).

Tells of transmissions from the B.B.C. and other non-Arab stations, beginning with messages from Italy in 1935.

Contributions to Iranian Lexicography. Oswald Szemerényi. (In the *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* Baltimore. December, 1950. pp. 226-236).

A technical article.

An International Régime for Jerusalem. Sir William Fitzgerald. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1950. pp. 273-283).

Presents historical arguments to support the idea.

A Mirror for Princes. R. Levy. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. January, 1951. pp. 66-77).

Summarizes a work written about 900 years ago by a warrior chieftain for the benefit of his son giving a picture of the manners, customs and ideas then prevailing in the Caspian province of Persia.

Recent Archaeological Work in Azarbaijan. T. Burton Brown. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. January, 1951. pp. 60-66).

Describes material uncovered during the 1948 excavation at Geoy Tepe, near Rezaiyyeh, and dating from 3000 to 1000 B.C.

II. ARABIA

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

Ancient Azarbaijan. Edwin M. Wright. (In the *Iranian Review,* New York. January-February, 1950. pp. 9-15).

A sketch of the military history of the Iranian stronghold up to the arrival of the Seljuk Turks in the 11th century.

Developments of the Quarter: Comment and Chronology. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Winter, 1951. pp. 70-88).

Covers September 1—November 30, 1950.

Greg Palamas among the Turks and Documents of His Captivity as Historical Sources. G. G. Arnakis. (In *Speculum,* Cambridge, Mass. January, 1951. pp. 104-118).

Recounts the adventures and impressions of the Archbishop of Thessalonika, later canonized by the Greek Orthodox Church, and tells of his relations with Orhan.

Le Malik-nāmeh et l'Histoire des Origines Seljukides. Claude Cahen. (In *Oriens,* Leiden. 1949, part 2. pp. 31-65).

Covers the 10th and 11th centuries and discusses sources.

MEHEMMED II, DER EROBERER: SEINE BEZIEHUNGEN ZUR RENAISSANCE UND SEINE BUCHERSAMMLUNG. Emil Jacobs. (In *Oriens,* Leiden. 1949, part 2. pp. 6-30).

The Sultan's relations with Humanists and other important figures of the period and their influence on him.

PALESTINE TRENDS OF POWER. H. D. Schmidt. (In the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* Chicago. January, 1951. pp. 1-12).

Surveys 3000 years of the country's history in the light of the rise and fall of imperial powers to which the geographic position of Palestine laid it open.

PRIX ET SALAIRES A L'ÉPOQUE MAMLOUKE. Eli Strauss. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques,* Paris. 1949. pp. 49-94).

A well-documented survey of the economic decline in Egypt during this period.

COMMUNISM, ISLAM AND NATIONALISM IN CHINA. John M. H. Lindbeck. (In *The Review of Politics,* Notre Dame, Ind., University. October, 1950. pp. 473-488).

This is an excellent factual and documented account of Communism's success in dominating Northwest China.

IV. QUR'ĀN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

EARLY INDO-MUSLIM MYSTICS AND THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE STATE. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami. (In *Islamic Culture,* Hyderabad. October, 1949. pp. 313-321).

Continues a previous article.

IBN KHALDOUN ET LE LIVRE DES PROLÉGOMÈNES. Georges Marçais. (In *Revue de la Méditerranée,* Algiers. Juillet-Aout, 1950).

Discusses the ideas of this great Arab historian.

L'ISLAM DANS LA VIE SOCIALE ET POLITIQUE DE L'ÉGYPTE CONTEMPORAINE. Marcel Colombe. (In *Cahiers de l'Orient Contemporain,* Paris. 1950, part 7. pp. 1-26).

Describes efforts being made to harmonize orthodoxy and modernity.

THE MUTARRIFIYA. A. S. Tritton. (In *Muséon,* Louvain. 1950. pp. 60-67).

Deals with an obscure Muslim sect mentioned often in Zaidi histories.

THE RISE OF ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY. Richard Walzer. (In *Oriens,* Leiden. 1950. pp. 1-19).

Studies the attitudes of al-Kindī and al-Fārābī toward Greek thought.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

ARAB EDUCATION IN THE NEAR EAST. G. T. Renner. (In *Middle Eastern Affairs,* New York. August-September, 1950. pp. 215-224).

Points out strength and weakness in educational reforms.

ECONOMIC REVIEW. Jerome B. Cohen. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Winter, 1951. pp. 94-100).

Discusses the Colombo Plan for Coöperative Economic Development in South and South-Eastern Asia and gives tables of six year development programs for India, Pakistan and Ceylon.

Egypt To-day. (In *The Islamic Review,* Woking. February, 1951. pp. 12-15).

Outlines Egypt's social security plan—the first of its kind in the Muslim world.

Finance, Economy and Industry of Pakistan. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. January, 1951. pp. 43-47).

An optimistic picture supported by statistics.

Histoire d'une Tribu Sémi-Nomade de Palestine. B. Couroyer, O.P. (In *Revue Biblique,* Paris. January, 1951. pp. 75-91).

Tells of the Ta'amirah living east of Bethlehem and numbering about 8000 in 1948.

Land and Population in the Middle East. Alfred Bonnet. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Winter, 1951. pp. 39-56).

A documented article with tables to show that with proper land conservation and irrigation the Middle East can support its anticipated population for many years to come.

Land Reform: Key to the Development and Stability of the Arab World. Afif I. Tannous. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Winter, 1951. pp. 1-20).

A detailed presentation of this important subject, basic to the furthering of real democracy.

Muslim Women Story Writers of India and Pakistan. Nasiruddin Hashimi. (In *The Islamic Review,* Woking. January, 1951. pp. 32-36).

A collection of short sketches giving the life and work of 22 authors.

Private Enterprise in Turkish Industrial Development. Robert W. Kerwin. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Winter, 1951. pp. 21-38).

Shows that there is an important and definite trend away from Statism.

Recherches sur les Documents Arabes Relatifs a la Cuisine. Maxime Rodinson. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques,* Paris. 1949. pp. 95-165).

Gives a general survey of the subject and analyzes K. al-Wuṣla ilā l'ḥabīb.

Rural Education in Iran. Abdullah Faryar. (In *The Iranian Review,* New York. January-February, 1950. pp. 20-28).

Surveys elementary education systems both urban and rural.

La Stabilité du Climat en Palestine. N. Shalem. (In *Revue Biblique,* Paris. Janvier, 1951. pp. 54-74).

Presents a case for the control of climate by the human element rather than by climatic changes.

Some Economic Problems of Persia. Edward Sykes. (In the *Royal Central Asiatic Journal,* London. July-October, 1950. pp. 262-272).

A concise analysis, including thoughts on the Seven Year Plan.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

Crisis and Reform in French North Africa. Ch.-André Julien. (In *Foreign Affairs,* New York. April, 1951. pp. 445-455).

In the face of Communist influence and a rising Nationalistic

plea for independence, the French Government has achieved satisfactory agreements with the Bey of Tunis and is striving to improve relations with the more belligerent Morocco.

DOCUMENTS. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Winter, 1951. pp. 89-93).

Includes the full text of the Ethiopian-Eritrean Federation of December 2, 1950.

IS EGYPT PLANNING A SECOND ROUND? Brian Faulkner. (In *Commentary,* New York. August, 1950. pp. 308-315).

The author believes war is inevitable but not immediate.

KASHMIR—A SOVEREIGN STATE. Sir Godfrey Davis. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. January, 1951. pp. 30-37).

Proposes for the solution of Hindu-Moslem discord on the subject the creation of an independent state.

LA LEYA ARABA NEL SUO PRIMO QUINQUENNIO. Selim Cattan. (In *Oriente Moderno,* Roma. July-September, 1950. pp. 105-109).

Tells of the first five years of the Arab League and points out the need for its continuance.

THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE WESTERN WORLD. Maurice Moyal. (In *World Affairs,* London. October, 1950. pp. 460-467).

The war in Korea has shown that the West cannot rely on the Arabs in an East-West crisis.

THE NEAR EAST DANGER. Thomas Anthem. (In *The Contemporary Review,* London. October, 1950. pp. 201-206).

The author believes U.N. forces should be stationed throughout the Near East to prevent Russian infiltration and aggression in the area.

STORM CLOUDS OVER THE INDIAN SUB-CONTINENT. Sir William Barton. (In *The Quarterly Review,* London. January, 1951. pp. 41-54).

A rather gloomy picture of the past three years' attempts and accomplishments.

ZIONISM AND THE MEN OF PALESTINE. Fr. Georges Dumont. (In the *Eastern Churches Quarterly,* London. Winter, 1951. pp. 471-482).

The author believes the status quo cannot continue. Either the Jews must show more tolerance and cooperation or the Arab World will unite and defeat them by force of arms.

VII. MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

THE CHANGED SITUATION FOR MISSIONS IN NIGERIA. E. F. Wilkinson. (In *The East and West Review,* London. January, 1951. pp. 24-30).

Discusses the need for building up Christian community life.

THE CHURCH IN THE MOSLEM WORLD. (In *The Living Church,* New York. March 11, 1951. pp. 14-15; March 18, 1951. pp. 14-15).

Covers "Malta to Mindanao" by the Rev. C. T. Bridgeman and the "Christian Arabs of Palestine" by the Rev. Sydney Temple.

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